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ENGLAND UNDER THE LANCASTRIANS

BY

JESSIE H. FLEMMING

M.A. (Oxon.)

WITH A PREFACE BY

A. F. POLLARD

Litt.D., F.B.A.

[UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INTERMEDIATE SOURCE-BOOKS OF HISTORY, No. III]

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PREFACE.

THIS, the third volume in the series of Intermediate Texts, links up the first, Miss Hughes' "Illustrations of Chaucer's England" with the second, Miss Thornley's "England under the Yorkists," and the three provide a continuous series of contemporary documents illustrating all aspects of English history, from the accession of Edward III to that of Henry Tudor. The fourth volume in the series comes to more modern times and illustrates the reign of Charles II, while the fifth goes back to Henry III. Other volumes in preparation deal with England before the Norman Conquest and the reign of Elizabeth. It is proposed henceforth to issue a volume each year instead of one in two years, and thus to make more rapid progress towards the completion of the scheme, which is to provide a library of original materials for English history from the period of the Roman occupation to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.

The present volume covers a period which could not easily be divided, but is nearly as long as the first and very much longer than the second; and Miss Flemming's task of selection has been correspondingly more difficult. For the commonplace that the materials for English history grow scantier as the Middle Ages draw to a close is based on little more than the circumstances that monastic chronicles dwindled in bulk and in intelligence, and that they formed the chief contents of the so-called Rolls Series, though they were neither "rolls" nor the principal body of materials published under the authority of the Master of the Rolls. This volume provides ample evidence of the hollowness of the commonplace; by far the greater portion of it is drawn from other sources than the chronicles printed in the "Rolls Series"; and not a little comes from MSS. not yet edited.

It is, however, no part of our plan to supersede the need for guidance on the part of the teacher or thought and further reading on that of the student; and, despite the protests of critics who look for the essence of a volume in its preface or introduction and think that students of history should be fed with historical tabloids, it is not proposed to change the scheme of the series and require the editors to summarise the history of the periods, with which they are dealing, in introductions to their extracts from original sources. Their value has been proved to consist mainly in the opportunity they give for each student to work out his own views; and for help in the process they must rely on their teachers and on their own reading. If Wylie's "Henry IV," Ramsay's "Lancaster and York," and the third volume of Stubbs' "Constitutional History" are beyond their compass, they can at least be referred to the relevant volumes in Longmans' "Political History" or Methuen's "History of England".

A. F. POLLARD.

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NOTES ON THE SOURCES.

The history of the Lancastrian period is to a large extent derived from the same sources as that of the Yorkist period, a brief account of which will be found in the introduction to Miss I. D. Thornley's "England under the Yorkists" in this series. The standard bibliography is C. Gross's "Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485" (1900). The chief records, which form the most valuable authorities, have been fully catalogued and described in W. R. Scargill-Bird's "Guide to the Public Record Office" (3rd edition, 1908). These fall mainly into three divisions, records of the Chancery, of the Exchequer, and the Judicial records. The Chancery records comprise Patent Rolls, Close Rolls, Charter Rolls, Foreign Rolls, Rolls of Parliament and Statutes of the Realm, Chancery Inquisitions, Warrants for the Great Seal, Ancient Petitions, and early Chancery proceedings. The Patent Rolls have been calendared for the whole period, and the extracts here printed have been taken from the Calendar, or from those printed by Rymer. The extracts from the Close Rolls, which are in the process of being calendared, have been taken from the original roll unless otherwise stated. The Charter Rolls have been calendared to 1417. A calendar of the French Rolls for the reigns of Henry V and VI has been printed in the "Deputy Keeper's Reports," xliv. App. 545-638, and xlviii. App. 217-450. The Norman Roll is printed in full for the year 5 Henry V (Record Commission, 1835), and a calendar for the years

6-10 Henry V is printed in the "Deputy Keeper's Reports," xli. App. 671-810 and xlii. App. 313-472. The French and Norman Rolls are also included in T. Carte's "Catalogue des rolles gascon, norman et français" (1743) (incomplete). The Scottish Rolls have been printed in full (Record Commission, 1814-18). Both Parliament Rolls and Statute Rolls extend throughout the whole period and are printed in full. Printed examples of the Early Chancery Proceedings (summarily calendared, Record Office, Lists and Indexes, xii) may be found in the introductions to the volumes issued by the Record Commission (1832) of "Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," and in Vol. IV of "Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History" (1914), ed. Sir P. Vinogradoff.

Of the Exchequer records very little has been printed. Extracts from the wardrobe accounts of Henry IV will be found in an Appendix to Vol. IV of J. H. Wylie's "History of England under Henry IV" (1884-98). The Subsidy Rolls for 6 and 9 Henry VI and particulars of the aid of 3 Henry IV for the marriage of the King's eldest daughter have been printed, "Inquests and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids" (Record Commission, 6 vols., 1899-1921). Summaries of the financial history of the reigns will be found in Sir J. Ramsay's "Lancaster and York" (1892) at the end of the concluding chapter of each reign.

The judicial records comprise those of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, ancient indictments, assize rolls, gaol delivery rolls, coroners' inquests and similar records, many of which have been indexed (Record Office, Lists and Indexes); others have been summarised or printed in full by local societies. The year books, which are not official records, but often throw an interesting light upon judicial proceedings, have been printed in sixteenth and seventeenth century editions only. Another important official source for the period is Sir N. H. Nicolas' "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council" (Record Commission, 1834-7), a collection of documents relating to the work of the Council drawn from various sources.

The standard bibliography of local records is C. Gross's "Bibliography of Municipal History," Harvard Historical Studies, V (1897). Many town records have been printed, among which are those of London, York, Coventry, Nottingham, Leicester. Others have been calendared in the Appendices to the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The London records are the most important. The "Letter Books" have been calendared for the whole period by Dr. R. R. Sharpe (1909-11). Extracts from these have also been printed in full in the Appendix to his "London and the Kingdom" (1894-5), and he has also compiled a "Calendar of the Wills in the Court of Husting" (1889-90). Other records not printed or calendared are the Journals of the Common Council, from 1417, for which there is an index (unprinted), and the Plea and Memoranda Rolls for which a Calendar is in preparation. The Editor's thanks are due to Mr. A. H. Thomas, Records Clerk of the Corporation of London, for his courtesy in allowing her to use his manuscript of this calendar. Extracts from the Journals and Letter Books to 1422, are also to be found in English in H. T. Riley's "Memorials of London Life" (1868), and in the original in J. Delpit's "Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre" (Documents inédits, 1847).

The chief ecclesiastical records of the period are the Bishops' Registers. Those of Bishops Trefnant, Mascall, Lacy, Poltone, Spofford, Beauchamp, Boulers, and Stanbury of Hereford (Cantilupe and Canterbury and York Society, 1915-20), and of Bishops Mone and Chichele of St. David's (Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 6, 1917), have been printed in full. Extracts from the Registers of Canterbury and York are printed in Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ" (1737). Details of other registers from which extracts have been published, chiefly by local record societies, will be found in R. C. Fowler's "Episcopal Registers of England and Wales" (S.P.C.K., "Helps for Students of History," No. 1, 1918). Other ecclesiastical records of the period may be found in "Visitation of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln" (Canterbury and York Soc., XVII, 1915; XXIV, 1919); "Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia" (C.S., 1904-6); "Records of the Northern Convocation" (Surtees Society, 1906), and other publications of these Societies. The "Fasciculi Zizaniorum" (R.S., 1858), contains a collection of documents relating to the Lollards. Three of Bp. Pecock's English works have been printed, "The Repressor of over much blaming of the Clergy" (R.S., 1860), the "Book of Faith" (ed. J. L. Morison, 1909), and the "Donet" (E.E.T.S., 1921). The "Reule of Crysten Religioun" (J. Gairdner, 1911) is a summary only. Extracts from Thomas Gascoigne's "Theological Dictionary" have been edited in J. E. T. Rogers' "Loci e Libro Veritatum" (1881).

In the foreign series of the Calendars of State Papers, only the Venetian and Milanese include material for this period. The "Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland" covers part of the period, the Calendar of "Letters" extending to 1455, that of "Petitions to the Pope" to 1419. These entries in the Papal Registers include copies of Bulls, diplomatic correspondence, legatine commissions, orders concerning ecclesiastical appointments, dispensations and indults to laymen and ecclesiastics, and confirmation of monastic privileges and endowments.

A full discussion of the literary authorities for this period will be found in C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, with an appendix of chronicles and historical pieces hitherto for the most part unprinted" (1913). There are several collections of letters for the period. Of these the "Paston Letters" (ed. J. Gairdner, 1904) are the most important. "The Stonor Letters" (C.S., 1919), though containing some documents relating to these years, do not begin to be of real interest until a later date. Other collections are the "Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV" (R.S., 1860), "Litteræ Cantuarienses III" (R.S., 1887-9), "Christ Church Letters" (C.S., 1877), "Original Letters Illustrative of English History" (Sir H. Ellis, 1825-40), "Letters of the Kings of England" (J. O.

Halliwell-Phillipps, 1846), "Lettres de Rois, Reines, etc., de France et d'Angleterre" (A. Champollion-Figeac, Documents Inédits, 1839-47), "Epistolæ Academicæ" (H. Anstey, Oxford Historical Society, 1898), "Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton" (R.S., 1872), "Letters of Margaret of Anjou" (C.S., 1863), "Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter, 1447-50" (C.S., 1871). Further diplomatic correspondence will be found in the "Letters and Papers Illustrative of the English Wars in France" (R.S., 1861-4), Gilliodts van Severen, "Le Cotton MS. Galba B i." (Chroniques Belges inédites, 1896), and J. Caro, "Aus der Kanzlei Sigmunds" (1879). Other letters of the period are contained in the series of "Ancient Correspondence" at the Public Record Office; several have been printed in the Appendices to the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and a calendar of these is given as an Appendix to C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature". Some correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, is printed in the "English Historical Review," Vols. X, 99-104; XIX, 509-26; XX, 484-98, and several other letters exist in various scattered sources. Of the poetry of the period, the works of Thomas Hoccleve have been printed by the E.E.T.S. (1892-7), as have also the "Minor Poems" of John Lydgate (1911). Other examples of his work will be found in "Chronicles of London" (C. L. Kingsford, 1905), pp. 97-116, "Chronicle of London" (Sir N. H. Nicolas, 1827), and "Political Poems and Songs," ii. (R.S., 1861). This last contains several other pieces of the time, the most important being "The Libel of English Policy". There are several ballads of the Battle of Agincourt, one example of which is given in Nicolas' "Chronicle of London," pp. 216-33. Other ballads may be found in "Archæologia" XXIX, pp. 326-34, and "English Chronicle" (C.S., 1856), pp. 91-4.

The fifteenth century marks the decline of the mediæval monastic chronicle. The S. Albans School is represented by the "Annales Henrici Quarti" (R.S., 1866), which extends to 1406, the "Historia Anglicana" of Thomas Walsingham

(R.S., 1863), to 1422, and also his "Ypodigma Neustriæ" (R.S., 1876), to 1419, a work of little importance. The "Vita Ricardi Secundi," by a monk of Evesham (ed. T. Hearne, 1729), which includes a continuation to the end of 1402, the chronicle for the reign of Henry IV (ed. J. A. Giles, 1846), and the "Chronicle of Thomas Otterbourne" (ed. T. Hearne, 1732), in "Duo rerum Anglicarum Scriptores,'' are closely related to the S. Albans Chronicles. Other monastic annals which continue for a part or the whole of the period are those of Bermondsey ("Annales Monastici," iii., R.S., 1866), Waltham (Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 350-4), Gloucester (*id.*, 355-7), Evesham ("Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis," R.S., 1863) and Meaux ("Chronicon de Melsa," R.S., 1866-8). Other Latin Chronicles are that of Adam of Usk, a Welshman and a lawyer (ed. Sir E. M. Thompson, 1904), which extends to 1422, the Northern and Southern Chronicles (Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," pp. 275-91), the latter being closely connected with the "Continuation of Eulogium Historiarum" (R.S., 1863), and the Chronicle of John Strecche, a Canon of Kenilworth, extending to 1422 (B.M. Add. MS. 35295).

Of the many biographies of Henry V, the most valuable is the "Gesta Henrici Quinti" (English Historical Society, 1850), by Thomas Elmham, a monk of S. Augustine's, Canterbury, written before the end of 1417. Another life by this author is the "Liber Metricus," in Cole, "Memorials of Henry V" (R.S., 1858). Two others, written before 1451, are the "Vita Henrici Quinti," by Tito Livio da Forli, "poet and orator" to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (ed. T. Hearne, 1716), and "Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti" (ed. T. Hearne, 1727), and wrongly ascribed by him to Thomas Elmham. An abbreviated Latin version of this last is contained in the chronicles for the reign of Henry IV, V, and VI (ed. J. A. Giles, 1846). Later biographies are the "First English Life of Henry V" (ed. C. L. Kingsford, 1911), written in 1513, and the "Historia Henrici Quinti," by Robert Redmayne, in Cole, "Memorials of Henry V" (R.S., 1858), written between 1574-8.

Far more important as literary sources are the "Chronicles of London," written in English and contemporary in origin. Three of these, Cotton MSS., Julius B, ii., Cleopatra C, iv., and Vitellius A, xvi., have been edited by C. L. Kingsford, "Chronicles of London" (1905), and are fully discussed in the introduction. A fourth, "Gregory's Chronicle," is contained in "Historical Collections of a London Citizen" (C.S., 1876), and a fifth, a "Short English Chronicle" in "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles" (C.S., 1880), both edited by Dr. J. Gairdner. The first version of the London Chronicle to be printed was Harley MS. 565, collated with Cotton MS., Julius B, i., part of which is printed as a continuation of the Harley MS. in a "Chronicle of London" (ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas and E. Tyrrell, 1827). MS. Digby Roll 2 in the Bodleian is a chronicle of London from 1189-1511, and in Macray's "Catalogue of the Digby MSS." it is said to agree verbatim to 1422 with the text printed from Harley MS. 565, by Sir N. H. Nicolas. A comparison of the extract printed below (p. 230) with the corresponding passage in the Harley MS. will show that this is not strictly true. The editor has to thank Miss E. Jeffries Davis for referring her to this chronicle, as also for much help in many ways. Other versions of the London Chronicle have been printed in R. Flenley's "Six Town Chronicles" (1911); of these, Bale's Chronicle, the Longleat MS., MSS. Rawlinson B, 355, and Gough London, 10, relate to this period. "The Great Chronicle" (ed. E. H. Dring (unprinted)) represents the fullest version of these chronicles for the period, but does not add new material of value until after 1460.

The relation of the London Chronicles to the versions of the Brut (E.E.T.S., ed. F. W. Brie, 1906-8) is fully discussed in C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature". Another version of the Brut chronicle has been edited by J. S. Davies, "English Chronicle, 1377-1461" (C.S., 1856). Extracts from the Brut narratives are also given in C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature," pp. 299-309, and from the Latin Brut (*ib.*, 310-37). There also exist continuations of the Latin Brut, of which two versions have been printed, one under the title of "A Brief Latin Chronicle," in "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles" (C.S., 1880), and another in C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature," pp. 342-9.

John Hardyng (1378 to *c.* 1464) completed the first version of his chronicle in 1457 and the second in 1464 (ed. Ellis, 1812). Extracts from the first version will be found in Vol. XXVII of the "English Historical Review," pp. 740-53. A Chronicle for 1422-31, compiled at S. Albans, is printed with "Johanni Amundesham Annales" (R.S., 1870). The "Register of John Whethamstede, Abbot of S. Albans" (R.S., 1872-3, in Registrum Abbatiæ) contains passages of historical value. William of Worcester's "Annals" are printed in Vol. II, Part II, of "Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France" (R.S., 1861-4), as is also a collection of documents made by him relating to the French War. The "Collections of a Yorkist Partisan" (Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," pp. 358-68) consists of documents of the period 1447-52. Documents relating to the years 1450-60 are contained in Stow's "Annales; or a General Chronicle of England" (ed. E. Howes, 1631).

The chief French chronicles for the period are those of J. de Wavrin ("Chroniques," R.S., 1864-91, to 1471, and also after 1443, ed. Mlle. Dupont, Société d'Histoire de France, 1858), E. de Monstrelet, to 1422 ("Chroniques," ed. Buchon, 1836), J. Le Fèvre de S. Rémy ("Chronique," Soc. de l'Hist. de France, 1876), and G. Chastelain ("Chroniques," ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 1863), all with Burgundian sympathies. Other French authorities are the "Chronique du Religieux de S. Denys" ("Documents inédits," 1839), J. J. des Ursins (Michaud et Poujoulat, "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France," xii.), Pierre le Fénin ("Mémoires," *id.*), "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris" (*id.*, and A. Tuetey, 1881), and J. Chartier, "Chronique de Charles VII" (ed. Vallet de Viriville, 1858). Documents are printed in G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, "Histoire de Charles VIII"

(1885), and U. Plancher, "Histoire de Bourgogne" (1739). The "Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy" (R.S., 1863) are taken from French sources.

The arrangement of these extracts in five books, and under various headings, is made for the convenience of students, and apart from this it has little or no significance. For instance, the commercial policy of the Lancastrians was not among the least important of the causes of their unpopularity (below, p. 253). The commercial classes were usurping the position of the feudal aristocracy, and were no longer a negligible factor in politics. Nor is it mere accident that the most important of the literary authorities for the period are for the first time those written in the English language, and are associated with the towns rather than with the monasteries. Again, the elements of education were doubtless essential for a successful business career, but the awakening intellect of the burgher merchant demanded more than the satisfaction of this utilitarian demand, and the educational activities of the period cannot be accounted for by this alone. So too, the use of the vernacular, whether for historical literature, theological controversy, official records or translations of the Bible, is characteristic of a time when the national consciousness no longer required a foreign war as its medium of expression. The loss of the English possessions in France, after a war which had become a matter of party rather than of national politics, enabled both Lords and Commons to confine their attention to the constitutional struggle at home. The peace and war parties among the Lords continued as rival factions for the control of the Government, and the Commons elaborated constitutional theories hardly more favourable to political stability than the family pre-occupations of the Lords. Finally, in ecclesiastical matters, though the evidence for the existence of widespread heresy or anti-papal opinions is lacking, both Lollardy and the secularisation of education were partly responsible for the growth of an attitude of mind sensitive to the ideals of the Renascence and the Reformation. The

Pope was playing with a dangerous weapon when he used incipient national jealousies to wreck the Conciliar Movement.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS.

A TRANSLATION as well as the original text is supplied by the editors of the following volumes: "Royal and Historical Letters during the reign of Henry IV," "Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy," "Letters and Papers of the Wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI," "Statute Rolls of Ireland," Wavrin, "Receuil des Chroniques," to 1431, all in the Rolls Series; "Lincoln Diocese Documents" (E.E.T.S.); "Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln" (Canterbury and York Society, Vol. XVII); "Chronicle of Adam of Usk" (English Historical Society); "Select Cases on the Law Merchant" (Selden Society); Ellis, "Original Letters"; "The Records of the Borough of Nottingham".

In Riley, "Memorials of London Life," and "The Records of Mediæval Oxford," a translation only is given. The translation of the Statute Rolls is that printed in the edition issued by the Record Commission, 1810-19.

In the Papal, Milanese, and Venetian Calendars a translation is always given, with occasional extracts in the original.

For all other translations the editor is responsible. The runes have not been printed, though they occur in many of the MSS. (and printed copies) from which these extracts are taken.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES.

Ann. Hen. IV = Annales Henrici Quarti (R.S.).

C.S. = Camden Society.

E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.

Eng. Hist. Rev. = "English Historical Review."

Flenley = R. Flenley, "Six Town Chronicles".

Gregory's Chron. = Printed in "Historical Collections of a London Citizen" (C.S.).

Kingsford, Eng. Hist. Lit. = C. L. Kingsford, "English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century".

N.E.D. = New English Dictionary.

Nicolas, Proc. = "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council," ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas.

P.R.O. = Public Record Office.

R.S. = Rolls Series.

Rot. Claus. = Rotuli Literarum Clausarum.

Rot. Parl. = Rotuli Parliamentorum.

Rot. Pat. = Rotuli Literarum Patentium.

Rymer = Foedera, Conventiones, Literae . . . inter Reges Angliae et alios . . . collected by T. Rymer, 2nd edition, 1727-35.

S.R. = Statutes of the Realm.

Wals., Hist. Ang. = T. Walsingham, "Historia Anglicana" (R.S.).

Wilkins, Conc. = Wilkins, "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ".

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BOOK I. POLITICAL.

1.

[First Parliament of Henry IV, 6 October, 1399. Rot. Parl., iii. 415. (Fr.).]

At the Parliament summoned and held at Westminster by King Henry IV, on Monday, the Feast of St. Faith, Virgin, which was the 6th day of October, the first year of the reign of the same King Henry IV, the King himself sitting on his royal throne in the Great Hall at Westminster, in the presence of all the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons, assembled there by the authority of the summons to the Parliament, and of many other gentlemen and commons, in all a very great number, Thomas of Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring how, on Tuesday last, which was the morrow of St. Michael and the Feast of St. Jerome, Doctor, the King Richard II had summoned a Parliament to be held, and how that summons had no force or effect, by reason of the acceptance of the Renunciation of the said King Richard, and of the Deposition of the said King on the Tuesday above said, as it appears more fully in the records and proceedings recorded and enrolled on the roll of Parliament, . . . showed and declared . . . that this honourable realm of England . . . had been for a long time administered, ruled and governed by children and the counsel of widows by whose means the realm was about to be lost, had not Almighty God, of His great grace and mercy sent a wise and discreet man to govern the realm, who, with the help of God, shall be advised and counselled by the wise and ancient councillors of his kingdom, to the assistance and comfort of himself and the whole realm.

[(*Ibid.*, 425), Wednesday, 15 October.]

The Commons prayed our Lord the King and all the lords spiritual and temporal, in this present Parliament, that it might please them, by their common consent to revoke, annul, reverse, quash, and repeal all that was done in the Parliament held in the said twenty-first year (of King Richard II) or by its authority, and to hold it to be of no effect. . . . This petition seemed to the King just and reasonable, and with the common assent of the said Lords he gave his consent to it. . . .

On the same Wednesday, the said Commons prayed our said Lord the King, that the Parliament held at Westminster in the 11th year of the said King Richard, might be considered valid, and its acts enforced, seeing that they were for the honour and advantage of the Realm. . . . This petition seemed to the King just and reasonable, and with the common assent of the said Lords he gave his consent to it. . . .

Moreover, our Lord the King said, that whereas in the said Parliament held in the 21st year, certain powers were committed by authority of Parliament to certain Lords and others, and to a certain number of these same Lords and others, to answer and determine certain petitions and other matters arising in Parliament, as appears more fully in the Roll of the Parliament; and this was derogatory to all the estates of Realm; it was his will, that no such power should ever be granted henceforth by such authority of Parliament, and that this should never be cited as an example or precedent at any future time. . . .

The Lords and Commons gave answer and agreed that Henry the said eldest son (of the King) should be made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, and in the event of our said Lord the King's death before that of the said Prince, his eldest son, they would accept the said Prince as lawful heir to the Crown and Realm aforesaid, and that they would obey him as their King and liege lord. . . .

On Thursday, October 23rd, the Lords spiritual and temporal gave answer to the question put to them individually . . .

and said that it was their opinion that he (King Richard) should be securely and secretly imprisoned in a place little frequented by people, and that he should be guarded by trusty and honest persons, and that no former servant of the late king should wait upon him, and that all this should be carried out in the most secret manner possible.

[The Commons demanded the trial of Richard's Appellants. The King consulted both with the Lords temporal and Lords spiritual and on 3 November Chief Justice Thirning announced their decision (*ibid.*, 452).]

The Lordes in this Parlement, by assent of the kyng, deme and ajuggen and decreen, that the Dukes of Aumale, Surr, and Exestre that bene here present and Appellantz, lese and forgo fro hem and her heirs thes names that thei have nowe os Dukes, and the worship and the dignite therof; and the Markys (Dorset) here present fro hym and his heirs the name of Markys; and the Erle of Gloucestre here present the name of Erle and the worship thereof.

2.

[Rebellion of the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Salisbury. (*a*) Wals., "Hist. Ang.," R.S., ii. 242. (Lat.).]

In the year of grace 1400, the Earls of Kent, Salisbury, and Huntingdon, unmindful of the benefits conferred on them by the King, who had saved their lives, determined, against the will of all the commons of the realm and of many nobles, to stir up trouble by holding assemblies in divers places, and binding people by oath to the conspiracy to surprise the King in Windsor Castle, under the disguise of mummers, and cruelly to kill him and his sons; and also to restore King Richard, for whom they had been searching, to the throne, and by such great misdeeds, to recover the ducal titles and lands of which they had been deprived. But the King, mercifully being informed of their intended plot, left the place, and hastened to London. The Earls of Kent and Salisbury, however, thinking that the King knew nothing of the conspiracy, arrived at dawn on the Sunday after the Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord, that is, the Sunday in the Octave of the Feast of the Holy Innocents, with the intention of carrying out their plot, and entered the castle with an armed following of about 400 men. But when they discovered that the King had been forewarned, they were greatly disturbed, and asked for a lodging. They journeyed with great speed to Sunning near Reading, where the Queen was at that time dwelling. . . . Then, when they had rejoiced the heart of the Queen, though vainly, they left her, and proceeded first to Wallingford, then to Abingdon, exhorting the people wherever they went, to take up arms, and join the forces of their King, Richard. They reached Cirencester after dark: but the people of the town, their suspicions roused by such an array, and thinking, as was true, that their tales were lies, prevented any from going in or coming out of the house where they were. About midnight, when they tried to come out unseen, the townspeople, armed with bows and arrows, effectually prevented them. The Earls, knowing that they were in imminent danger, took up their arms, thinking it would be an easy task to overcome the townspeople. The battle raged, here and there, from midnight until three o'clock. Then at last, worn out, they surrendered to the townspeople, beseeching them not to put them to death until they had spoken with the King. Their wish would have been acceded to, had not a certain priest, one of their family, set fire to certain houses of the town, hoping that while the townspeople were occupied in putting out the fire, the Earls would find an opportunity to escape; but it was in vain, for the people left their houses to burn, and were all the more enraged and determined to revenge themselves on the Earls for the loss incurred by the fire; they led them therefore to the Abbey, and at dawn that same morning, beheaded them. . . . The Earl of Huntingdon . . . tried to escape by sea, but each time he tried to set sail, he was driven back by contrary winds . . . he was captured by the common people and taken first to Chelmsford and then to the castle of Plasshy, . . . where . . . he was beheaded.

[(*b*) Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, i. 318, 5 July, 1400.]

Grant during pleasure for their good service in the capture of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury and other rebels, to the men of the town of Circestre of four does yearly in season in the forest of Bradon and a tun of wine yearly in the port of Bristol and to the women of the town six bucks and a tun of wine yearly as above.

3.

[Death of Richard II. "Ann. Hen. IV," R.S., 331. (Lat.).]

Richard, formerly King of England, was living under a guard in the castle of Pontefract, when he heard of the disaster which had befallen his brother, John Holand, and the others with him, and he was so overwhelmed with grief, it is said, that he wished to put an end to his life by refusing all food. So thoroughly did he starve himself, it is said, that when, by the advice of his friends, he wished to satisfy the demands of nature by eating, the opening of the gullet was closed, and his appetite for food so entirely disappeared that he was unable to eat. And thus he grew weak from natural exhaustion, and on S. Valentine's day he died at the castle aforesaid. His body was borne through the most important places between the said castle and London, and displayed in those places where it remained overnight, that part at least by which he might be recognised, that is to say, from the lower part of the forehead to the throat.

4.

[Invasion of Scotland, August, 1400: (*a*) Henry demands homage from Robert III, King of Scotland. Rymer, viii. 155, from "Rot. Viag.," 1 Hen. IV, m. 34. (Lat.).]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to the King of Scotland, greeting, and we exhort you to perform the obligation which you owe to us.

Since our ancestors and progenitors, Kings of England, by the right of superiority and direct overlordship, for a great time, that is to say from the time of Locrin son of Brut onwards, have been overlords of Scotland and of its kings in all temporal matters pertaining to them, and have received allegiance, homage and the oath of fealty from the kings on behalf of the realm of Scotland, and from those nobles of the realm, from whom they wished to receive it . . . we, therefore, wishing to maintain the rights and prerogatives of our Crown unimpaired, as we are obliged to do by an oath taken by us, require, admonish and exhort you by the tenor of these presents, that considering the effusion of Christian blood and other dangers and losses which may occur if you do not comply with our wishes, you will be present to render us homage and take the oath of fealty . . . on Monday the 23rd of this present month of August, at Edinburgh (where, for this reason and for the peace and tranquillity of the realms of England and Scotland, we intend to be), and that you will cause to attend on the same day, at the same place, and for the same purpose, all the prelates and nobles of the kingdom of Scotland . . . Newcastle on Tyne, 6 August, 1400.

[(*b*) Robert refused Henry's demand; on 14 August Henry therefore crossed the Border. "Northern Chron.": Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 280. (Lat.).]

In the summer following, the King Henry gathered the nobles of the realm into a great army, and marched through Scotland as far as Edinburgh, where he remained for twenty-two days, and meeting with no resistance he did whatever he pleased, but hearing rumours of risings in Wales, he was forced to return.

[(*c*) Little was accomplished by the expedition, and on 29 August Henry returned to England. Arrangements for further hostilities were, however, made. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, i. 350, 22 August, 1400.]

Whereas the barons of the Cinque ports and the good men of other ports in the north by the King's command and of their own freewill have sent by sea to Scotland, ships, barges, balingers and other vessels well arrayed with armed men and archers and laden with victuals for the king and his army, the King has now at length entered Scotland with his army and has directed the Mayors, bailiffs, and other good men of divers cities and towns in the west and the wardens of the ports of the same to array their ships and send them with all speed by the Irish Sea to Scotland and wishes that they shall have to the use of themselves and the said armed men and archers all that they may take from the King's enemies, provided that no injury be done to the King's friends or other allies of the king's kinsman of France, except those of Scotland and Frisland.

5.

[On his way south Henry received news of an insurrection in Wales owing to a dispute between Owen Glendower and Lord Grey de Ruthyn, who held neighbouring lands. Monk of Evesham, "Vita Ric., II," 171. (Lat.).]

When the King arrived at Leicester, there came to him unwelcome tidings of a civil war, namely, of a cursed insurrection of the Welsh. These rebels had chosen a certain knight, Owen Glendower by name, as their prince and captain, against the peace. Of the cause of this rising we have received the following account. When the King was preparing to hasten to Scotland, he sent letters, marked by his signet, to the aforesaid Owen, knowing that in those days he was considered a doughty knight, telling him on no account to refuse to accompany him. Lord Grey of Ruthyn was appointed bearer of these letters. But he having received the letters put off his errand until the departure of the King. The letters were delivered to him on the day preceding or on the third day before the King set forth. He was greatly astonished and answered that it was too late, and that he was not prepared to undertake such a journey, on a sudden and without warning, and thus briefly made his excuses, saying he neither would nor could proceed to Scotland at that time. Leaving him in

Wales, Lord Grey then set forth to the King in Wales as quickly as possible, giving him an exaggerated account of the matter and saying that the aforesaid Owen had scorned his letters, and had reviled him and treated his commands with contempt. The King, affected by the news, reflected upon the matter. Afterwards he left Leicester with his army, and entered Wales with all haste to fight or utterly to destroy the rebels should fortune so favour him. He wandered hither and thither seeking earnestly for any one he might kill, but he neither saw nor killed anyone. For Owen was hiding from the King in the caves and mountains of Wales. The King therefore, seeing that he was accomplishing nothing, but that his army was suffering, since the food supplies did not nearly suffice for them, gave the lands, rents, and possessions of Owen to Lord Grey,[1] and returned to Worcester by way of Shropshire, where he remained some days, consulting with his council as to what measures should be taken. For this gift of lands, rents, and possessions became the cause of still greater troubles and anxieties, as will appear more plainly below. In the same year after the King's departure, Owen Glendower rose with his followers and first robbed and then entirely destroyed by fire, a certain town in Wales, Ruthyn by name, on the lands of the aforesaid Lord Grey.

6.

[These troubles involved Henry in financial difficulties which necessitated the summoning of Parliament on 20 January, 1401, where his needs were set forth. Rot. Parl., iii. 454. (Fr.).]

On Wednesday, January 21st, Sir William Thirnyng, by the king's command, declared the cause of the summons of Parliament as follows: firstly . . . that it is the King's wish that Holy Church may be maintained and upheld as it has been in the time of his noble progenitors and predecessors, the Kings of England, and as is approved by the Sacred Fathers and doctors of Holy Church and by Holy Scripture and that Holy Church may have and enjoy all her liberties and franchises as in the time of these same progenitors and predecessors. And that all the Lords spiritual and temporal, cities and boroughs, may have and enjoy all their liberties, franchises and customs, such as they have reasonably been wont to have by the gift of his said progenitors and predecessors. Also it is the King's will, that all the good laws made by him or by his progenitors and predecessors be firmly kept and maintained and put into execution, and that true and equal law and justice be done equally to the poor as to the rich, and to all the estates of his Realm; and the King is bound to do this by his Coronation oath. And the King wills and commands that no one, of whatever state, condition or degree he be, shall in any way hinder or impede any of his liege subjects from suing at Common Law. And the said Sir William in addition to this explained that our Lord the King had incurred many great debts and expenses, both at his gracious coming to this Realm to save and rescue it, and afterwards, at his honourable Coronation, and during the expedition he personally undertook to subdue the rebellion of certain lords and others of his liege subjects, who had treacherously risen against him. And further for his honourable journey with his Royal army in Scotland; and he further declared how on his return he had received news of the sudden rebellion of his subjects in North Wales, and in order to frustrate their evil design, he journeyed there in his own person with many men at arms and archers. . . . And since he does not wish to burden his people arbitrarily or without good reason, he has received large sums by way of loans, which he is obliged to repay. . . . And also there will be the necessary and heavy expenses for the journey of the Queen (Isabel) on her return to France. And further the charges for the safeguard of Calais and the castles and fortresses in the surrounding country will be heavy; and also for the Duchy of Guienne, which pertains to the Crown of England, since the King of France has made his eldest son Duke of Guienne, thus matters seem more inclined to war than peace.

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[1] The confiscated lands were actually given to John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset. Rymer, viii. 163. Rot. Pat., 2 Hen. IV, pt. 1, m. 19.

Furthermore, there are the wars in Ireland and Scotland and many other great expenses which must necessarily be incurred for the safety of the King and of his Realm, as will be more particularly declared to all the Estates of the Realm when need arises. Wherefore, considering all these matters and all that is involved by them, and also how that it is not the King's intention to burden his people beyond what the needs and necessities require, the Lords and Commons are requested to give their attention to the matter, and to make such grants, ordinances and provisions as shall suffice for the safety of our Lord the King and his whole Realm. And the said Sir William further declared to the said Lords and Commons, that often times in the past many of them, having been summoned to Parliament were more mindful of their own private and particular needs than of the common advantage of the realm and the assistance they might give. Wherefore the King willed and commanded that no Lord, Knight of a shire, Citizen or Burgess, present in Parliament by authority of their summons, should absent themselves from the said Parliament or leave the city until it was dissolved: and that they should come every day to their appointed place in Parliament. And that the said Commons should elect one of themselves as their Common Speaker and should present him to him, as the custom is, on the Saturday following at 10 o'clock. And since our Lord the King wills that true and equal justice be done to all his subjects, both on this side of the water and the other, as is above said, he has appointed certain Receivers and Triers of Petitions, in manner following:—

7.

[Troubles in Wales continued. Owen Glendower assumed the title of Prince of Wales and prepared for further war by inviting help from Ireland and Scotland. Henry led an expedition against him in October, 1401, but failed to meet Owen in battle. Letter from Owen Glendower to the Lords of Ireland asking for help. "Chr. Adam of Usk," 73. (Lat.).]

Greeting and fullness of love, most dread lord and right trusty cousin. Be it known unto you that a great discord or war hath arisen between us and our and your deadly foes, the Saxons. . . . But seeing that it is commonly reported by the prophecy that, before we can have the upper hand in this behalf, you and yours, our well-beloved cousin in Ireland, must stretch forth hereto a helping hand; therefore, most dread lord and right trusty cousin, with heart and soul we pray you that of your horsemen and footmen . . . you do despatch unto us as many as you shall conveniently and honourably be able, saving in all things your honourable estate, as quickly as may seem good unto you, bearing in mind our sore need. . . . Seeing that, most dread lord and cousin, so long as we shall be able to wage manfully this war in our borders, as doubtless is clear unto you, you and all the chieftains of your parts of Ireland will in the meantime have welcome peace and calm repose.

Written in North Wales on the twenty-ninth day of November.

8.

[In August, 1402, the Scots invaded England but were defeated at Homildon Hill on 14 September. "Chron. J. Hardyng," 359.]

In the iii yere, therle of Fyffe and Murrey,
Of Athell, and Angos, and Douglas also
And of Menteth with barons fell yat daye,
The nomber was xl thousande and mo,
Had brent the lande by South, Northward tho
To Homildon, where on Holy Rode daye,
The earle them met in good and stronge araye.

His sonne also, Henry Percy, was there,
George of Dunbar was in theyr company,
And with the Scoties yat daye fought full sere,
Discomfyted them and had the victorye,
Six erles taken and xl thousande playnly,
Some fled, some died, some maimed there for euer,
That to Scotlande agayne came they neuer.

9.

[Sir Edmund Mortimer, after his capture by Owen Glendower, determined to make common cause with him against Henry IV. (*a*) Letter from Sir Edmund Mortimer, after his capture on 12 June, 1402, to his tenants. Dated at Mellenyth, 13 December. Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, i., no. 9 (Fr.), from MS. Cott. Cleop., F. iii., fo. 122*b*.]

Very dear and well-beloved, I greet you much, and make known to you that Owen Glendower has raised a quarrel, of which the object is, if King Richard be alive, to restore him to his Crown, and if not, that my honoured nephew, who is the right heir to the said Crown, shall be King of England, and that the said Owen will assert his right to Wales. And I, seeing and considering that the said quarrel is good and reasonable, have consented to join it, and to aid and maintain it, and, by the grace of God, to a good end. Amen!

[(*b*) Wales continued in a state of revolt throughout the following year. Letter from Richard Kyngeston, Archdeacon of Hereford, to King Henry IV. Dated 8 July, 1403. Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, i., no. 6 (Fr.), from MS. Cott. Cleop., F. iii., fo. 121*b*.]

Our most redoubted and sovereign lord the king, I recommend myself humbly to your Highness as your lowly creature and continual orator. And our most redoubted and sovereign Lord, please you to know that from day to day letters are arriving from Wales containing intelligence by which you may learn that the whole country is lost, if you do not go there as quick as possible.

(Postscript in English.)

And for Godes love my lyge Lord, thinkith on zour self and zoure astat, or be my trowthe all is lost elles; but and ze come zoure self with haste all other wolle folwin aftir. And ot on Fryday last Kermerdyn town is taken and brent, and the Castell zolden be Ro. Wygmor, and the Castell Emelyn is y zoldin; and slayn of the toune of Kermerdyn mo thanne l. persones. Writen in ryght gret haste on Sunday; and y crye zow mercy and putte me in zoure hye grace that y write so schortly; for, be my trowthe that y owe to zow, it is needfull.

10.

[Rebellion of the Percies, 1403. (*a*) "Ann. Hen. IV," R.S., 361. (Lat.).]

(The Earl of Worcester and Henry Percy) wrote to divers nobles of the kingdom as well as to the people of the land, sealing the letters with their seals, and asserting that the plan which they had put forward was not contrary to the allegiance or fealty which they had sworn to the King, and that they were not collecting an army for any other purposes than to secure the enjoyment of personal safety, the reform of public administration, and the appointment of wise councillors for the welfare of the King and the realm. In addition, they wrote, that the taxes and tallages conceded, or given to the King, for the safeguard of the realm, were not devoted to their intended use, but too often uselessly expended and consumed.

[(*b*) The Battle of Shrewsbury, 21 July, 1403. "A Northern Chronicle": Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 281. (Lat.).]

In this year certain wicked and evil-speaking people sowed discord between the lords of the realm and the aforesaid Earl of Northumberland and his son. For which cause, in the summer, about the time of the feast of the translation of St. Thomas,[1] Sir Henry Percy with about two hundred men came from Northumberland through the county of Lancaster as far as Chester, where he summoned all the nobles and magnates, together with the people of the counties of Chester and Flint, and of Bromfield and Yale; and he made a great and strong army; and they proceeded by the Marches of Wales to Shrewsbury. Meanwhile the Earl of Northumberland, his father, was collecting an army in the north, to come to the aid of his son. And many other dukes and nobles of the realm, it was said, promised their help. But the Earl of Westmorland, marshal of England, came up with a large

[1] 7 July.

force, the Earl of Northumberland was compelled to withdraw towards Northumberland, and his followers were dispersed

But King Henry, when he heard of the rising against him, left London and came to Derby, Tutbury, and Burton-on-Trent; and from all parts of the realm people flocked to the King; and when he had collected a large army he marched towards the town of Shrewsbury, where the aforesaid Sir Henry then was.

When, therefore, the armies were prepared for battle on each side, the King with the nobles of the realm, and the aforesaid Henry Percy with Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, his uncle, and many other nobles, barons and knights, took up their positions in a field called "Bullfeld"; and the battle raged from three o'clock until evening; and on each side were killed nobles and many magnates, and of the common people a great number. Amongst whom, alas, fell that renowned and noble lord, Henry Percy on the one side, and on the side of the King, the Earl of Stafford. The Earl of Worcester, Thomas Percy, and the Earl of Douglas were captured. On each side were killed about three thousand, the rest fled, and the victory was with King Henry. Fifteen hundred of the slain were buried in the same field in one grave; and this grave is now the cemetery of a college founded on the spot; there many priests live, who continually offer masses for the souls of the slain.

11.

[Parliament met on 14 January, 1404, when the Commons complained of the heavy expenditure. Rot. Parl., iii. 523. (Fr.).]

May it please the King to send to the said Commons, in their House of meeting, that is to say the Refectory of the Abbey of Westminster, his honourable officers, the Chancellor and Treasurer of England, with the answers, and to show and expound to them the costs and expenditure necessary for the safe-keeping of the sea and also for the defence of the Realm, and the other charges borne by the King's household, and otherwise. Answers were given with much discretion by the mouth of the said Chancellor to certain of the articles and requests, and others remained unanswered, including those concerned with the ordinance to be made for Wales, both south and north, where that wicked rebel Owen dwells and is now hiding. And to have further information on this matter, the Commons asked that certain of them might go before the lords, to show them their opinions on this matter, and this request was granted. . . . And for these great charges and many others, and for the many gifts of castles, lands, and lordships, and the annuities given neither for good cause nor with discretion, and especially for the heavy charges and expenses of the King's household, . . . the Commons pray the King right heartily and cordially . . . that it may please him . . . to charge all the lords spiritual and temporal, . . . to give him their counsel and advice on this matter. . . . And, moreover, the Commons said to our said Lord the King, that if these matters should be performed and accomplished in this Parliament, he would find them his faithful liegemen as they ought to be.

12.

[Parliament met at Coventry[1] on 6 October, 1404. The unsatisfactory condition of the finances led to an attack upon the temporal possessions of the Church. There is no mention of these proceedings in the Roll. "Ann. Hen. IV," R.S., 391. (Lat.).]

On the Feast of St. Faith, Virgin,[2] a Parliament was held at Coventry, the writs of summons being of a new kind, enjoining the election of knights or burgesses who knew nothing of the law of the realm but were altogether unlearned. For this reason this Parliament was afterwards known by the name of the "unlearned Parliament". For the knights of the Parliament, recking little either of faith or doctrine, and less wise than heathen or any gentile, strove every day to find a means, by which they might despoil the patrimony of Christ, and take away the temporal possessions granted in times past by holy men and kings to the Church. The bishops were troubled by these things, caring little for the persistency of their demands; but more especially distressed was my Lord of Canterbury, to whom it seemed that not only the Christianity of the kingdom, but the liberty of the whole Church must be considered. . . .

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[1] Of the 42 Parliaments summoned between 1399 and 1461, 35 met at Westminster, 2 at Coventry (1404 and 1459), 1 at Gloucester (1407), 2 at Leicester (1414 and 1426), 1 at Bury S. Edmunds (1447), 1 at Reading (1453).

[2] 6 October.

When, therefore, on a certain day, the knights of Parliament entered the public place of meeting and in the accustomed manner, shamelessly announced that the temporalities of the Church were to be granted to the use of the King, the Archbishop, courageous in spirit, answered boldly that he would rather give his life than deprive the Church of the least of her possessions, either in perpetuity or temporarily. . . . The Bishop of Rochester . . . ordered the book in which Magna Carta was written, to be brought and read it to them; and showed that all those who tried to subvert the liberties of the Church were subject to excommunication.

13.

[The war in Wales continued. On 28 February, 1405, according to the Chronicle, an alliance was made between the Earl of Northumberland, Edmund Mortimer, and Owen Glendower by which a tripartite division of England and Wales was arranged. Possibly the date should be 1406, see J. H. Wylie, "Henry IV," ii. 378-9; and Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 27; "Chron.," ed. Giles, 39-41. (Lat.).]

In this year, on 28 February, Henry, Earl of Northumberland made a league and treaty and alliance of friendship with Owen Glendower and Edmund of March. . . . These same lords of one accord determined and agreed that, the aforesaid Owen and his heirs should have the whole of Cambria or Wales, . . . And the aforesaid Earl of Northumberland,

and his heirs should have the under-mentioned counties, that is to say, Northumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster, York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick and Norfolk. And the Lord Edward should have the whole of the rest of England for himself and his heirs.

14.

[On 11 March, 1405, the English defeated the Welsh near Grosmont, capturing Owen's son Griffith. Letter from Henry, Prince of Wales, to King Henry IV, 11 March, 1405. Nicolas, "Proc.," i. 248 ; Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, i. 15 (Fr.), from MS. Cot. Vesp., F. iii., fo. 59. (Fr.).]

My most redoubted and most Sovereign Lord and Father . . . on Wednesday the eleventh of this present month of March your rebels of the parts of Glamorgan, Morgannok, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, assembled to the number of eight thousand men, according to their own account. And they went on the same Wednesday, in the morning, and burnt a part of your town of Grosmont. . . . And there, by the aid of the Blessed Trinity, your people gained the field and vanquished all the said rebels and slew of them by fair account in the field, by the time of their return from the pursuit, some say eight hundred, others a thousand, being questioned upon pain of death; nevertheless whether it were one or the other I will not contend. . . .

Written at Hereford the said Wednesday at night.

Your most humble and obedient son,
HENRY.

15.

[On 14 June, 1404, a treaty was made between Owen Glendower and the French, who, however, did not arrive in Wales until August, 1405. Wals., "Hist. Ang.," R.S., ii. 272. (Lat.).]

(1405.) Meanwhile the French were coming to the assistance of the Welsh, that is of Owen Glendower, and they arrived at the harbour of Milford with 140 ships, but owing to the lack of fresh water, they lost almost all their horses. Lord Berkeley and Henry Pay burnt fifteen of their ships in the same harbour. The said French, however, laid siege to the town of Carmarthen, and took it, but first they allowed its defenders to take away all their moveable goods and to go wherever they would. About the same time fourteen ships were captured by Lord Berkeley aforesaid and Sir Thomas Swinburne and Henry Pay, whilst they were sailing towards Wales to help Owen; with these the Seneschal of France and eight other captains were taken.

[(*b*) *Ibid.*, 273. 1406.]

At that time, whilst the French were hastening to assist Owen Glendower with thirty-eight ships, eight of them, full of armed men, were captured, and the rest in fear fled from Wales. Shortly afterwards fifteen ships, bringing wine and corn, were captured by our merchants to whom the keeping of the sea had been entrusted.

16.

[Rebellion in the North, May, 1405, of the Earl of Northumberland, Mowbray, and Bardolf, supported by Archbishop Scrope of York. (*a*) Grievances of the rebels. "Ann. Hen. IV," R.S., 403. (Lat.).]

These are the articles, and the defects which A. B. C. and G., with the assent of the common people, wish to have amended, that Parliament should be held at London, and all the estates to enjoy their liberties in the free election of the knights of the shire.

These are the articles of amendment and reform for the hindrance of adversity and disaster, which shall indeed come upon the realm on account of the lack of justice, unless it shall please God, of His mercy, to help the estates of the realm.

First. On account of the bad government of the realm, relief according to truth and justice, and reform, must be had for the intolerable burdens borne by all estates of the clergy, and the injuries and losses inflicted upon all estates, both spiritual and temporal, for the safety and liberty of Holy Church, which always before this has been governed and dealt with in such a manner as to be well-pleasing to God.

Item, remedy must be found for the poverty and low estate into which the lords have fallen, to the prejudice of their own persons as of their heirs, contrary to the condition of their birth, and of the laws and customs made by their ancestors.

Item, remedy must be found for the excessive and intolerable taxes and subsidies, extortions, and oppressions, from which the gentlemen, merchants, and commons of the realm are suffering, to the eventual impoverishment and destruction of those who indeed ought to be the support of all the estates, spiritual and temporal, if they are well governed as they ought to be; and uncontrolled extravagance must be punished, that is to say expenses incurred for the personal advantage of individuals and paid for from the great sums received from the aforesaid gentlemen, merchants, and commons, and their goods must be restored, for the safety of the realm and the bettering of the estate of the faithful commons. . . .

And if these demands can be fulfilled, we have the word and full promise of those who are now rebelling in Wales, that they will assent joyfully to the rule of the King of England. . . .

[*Cf.* "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 31.]

These articles and meney other the archebishoppe made be writen in English and were set on the yatis of the cite and sent to curatis of the tovnez aboute, forto be prechid openli.

[(*b*) The course of the rebellion. "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 32.]

And this same year, maister Richard Scroop archebisshoppe of York, and the lord Mowbray that was erl marchalle of Englond, and a knyght called ser William Plympton, gadrid a strong power in the north Cuntre ayens the king; . . . And the saide archebishoppe and the Lord Mowbray gadrid a greet ost, and wente toward the erlle of Westmerland; . . .

and whanne they were nyghe togedir, the erl praide tharchebishoppe and the Lord Mowbray, that they meyzte speke togedir and trete of peez; and thay wente to the erlle, and the erl hadde there botellis with wyne, and made thaym drynke; and whiles the said erlle fayned himself to trete, a knyzt of his rood to the archebishoppis ost, and saide that the lordis were acordid, and in token thereof they drank togedir, "and therfore tharchebishoppe comaundeth every man forto go hoom agayne, for he shall this nyzt sowpe with the erlle".

The archbisshoppis men were aferd, for ther was a litille hill betuene tharchebisshop and thaym, so that they myzte nowthir se him ne the erl; nothelez thay wende it hadde be trewe that the knyzt saide, and wente tharr way and were disharblid; and the knyzt retourned agayn to his companie: and anon the erl and he, with thair ost, fille upon tharchebisshoppe and lord Mowbray, and took thaym, and ladde thaym to the kyng to Pountfret.

Aftir this the king cam to York, and the citizeynes of the cite cam out barefoot and ungirt, with haltris aboute their neckis, and fil doun before the kyng axyng mercy and grace, because they aroos with tharchebisshoppe.

The archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, Arundelle, heryng alle this cam in haste to the kyng and to him saide, "Sire, I am your gostly fader, and the secunde persone of the reme and ye sholde accept no maner counsel souner than myn, yf it be good: I counsel you that if tharchebisshoppe of Yorke have trespast so moche ayens you as it is said reserue him to the popis iugement, and he will so ordeyne that ye shal be plesid; and if ye wille not so, I counsel let him be reserued to the iugement of the parlement, and kepe your handis vndefoulid from his blood". The king saide, "I may not for rumour of the peple". And tharchebishoppe requirid a notari to make an instrument of the kyngis answer, that yf nede were it myghte be presentid vnto the pope.

Thanne were the archebisshoppe of York and the lord Mowbray dampned vnto deth, and ser William Plympton with thaym, and were beheddid withoute the cite of York.

And whenne the archebisshoppe sholde die he saide, "Lo! I shall die for the lawes and good rewle of Engelond". And thanne he saide vnto thayme that sholde die with him, "Lat vs suffre deth mekely for we shul this nyghte, be Goddis grace, be in paradis". Thanne said tharchebisshoppe to him that sholde smyte of his hed, "For his loue that suffrid v. woundes for alle mankynde, yeue me v. strokis, and I forgeue the my dethe". And so he dede: and thus they deide. (June 8).

And anon aftir, as it was said, the king was smyte with a lepir: for the whiche archebisshoppe, Almyghti God sone aftirwarde wroughte meny grete miracles.

Whanne the Pope herde of the deth of the archebisshoppe of York, he cursid alle tho that slow him, and alle that were assentyng to his dethe or therto yaf counselle, and commaundid tharchebisshoppe of Cauntirbury that he sholde denounce alle thaym acursid; but tharchebisshoppe wolde not do it alone.

Thanne sent the king to the Pope, and saide that the sedicion of the people wolde not suffre him to live and sente also vnto him the habergeon that tharchebisshoppe was armed ynne with these wordis: "Father, look whether this be thy son's coat or no". And the pope ansuerde agayn in this wise, as it was said: "Whether this be my son's coat or no, I know that wild beasts have devoured my son": and so be prive menes of money the mater was cesid.

[(*c*) Preparations for pursuing the Earl of Northumberland who fled to Scotland. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, iii. 30, 14 June, 1405, dated at York.]

Commission to Edmund Oldehalle, Edmund Belyetter and Roger Galyon to take 50 tuns of flour, 40 tuns of wine, 200 salt fish and 400 quarters of oats in the county of Norfolk and take the same to the town of Newcastle on Tyne with all speed for the victualling of the King and his lieges in the company going to the north, to punish Henry Earl of Northumberland and other rebels adhering to the King's enemies of Scotland, now in the King's castle and town of Berwick, and to take ships and other carriage for the same.

The like to John Rochford, 'chivaler,' and John Cok, to take 30 tuns of flour, 25 tuns of wine, 2000 fish called stokfissh, 100 quarters of oats and 140 quarters of beans and peas in the county of Lincoln.

The like to John Lyversegge and Nicholas Blackburn to take 30 tuns of flour, 25 tuns of wine, 100 quarters of oats and 140 quarters of beans and peas in the county of York.

[(*d*) Henry continued the reduction of the north. "Northern Chronicle": Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 282. (Lat.).]

The King then set out towards the town of Ripon, and after that he went to Northumberland and took the castles of the Earl of Northumberland, that is to say, Prudhoe and Warkworth.

Then he came to Berwick, where having after some time captured the castle and town, he ordered Sir William Graystok with many other magnates and gentlemen who had opposed him, to be executed.

For the Earl of Northumberland, whom the King was pursuing, together with his son Henry Percy, had, from fear, taken refuge in Scotland.

The King, therefore, when he had fully carried out his will in the north, turned towards the south.

But before the King reached the south, Sir William Clifford and Sir Henry Percy[1] delivered to the King the castle of Alnwick, which the King, as it is said, was not able to capture either by fighting or by besieging it.

17.

[In the Parliament of 1406 an attack was made upon the administration of the King's household, and the Commons presented thirty-one articles, to which the King gave his assent. Rot. Parl., iii. 585. (Fr.).]

John Tibetot presented in Parliament a Roll containing many and divers articles drawn up with the advice and assent of the King and the Lords and Commons aforesaid, and requested that the same articles might be enacted and entered as of record on the roll of Parliament. To which request the reply was given, "Le roy le voet," saving his estate and his royal prerogative. And further the said John requested in the name of the said Commons, that all the Lords of the Council take an oath before the King and all the estates of Parliament, to keep all the articles contained in the said roll. At this the archbishop of Canterbury for himself, and the other Lords of the Council for themselves, severally protested, saying that they would in no wise take this burden upon themselves, unless the King, of his own will and motion, should particularly charge them so to do. . . . Whereupon the King, of his own will and motion, commanded the said Lords of the Council to do so, and charged them to take the oath to keep the articles as is above said.

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[1] Son of Thomas Percy, grandson of the Earl of Northumberland.

[*Ibid.*, iii. 609.]

And whereas it seems to the Chancellor and to the other Lords of the Council, in the presence of the King and the Lords and the Commons in full Parliament aforesaid, that they no longer receive any reward or thanks for their said labours and endeavours, nor for their said loans, both the Chancellor and Lords of the Council, in the presence of the King and the Lords and the Commons in full Parliament, protested that they would not be bound nor kept to the oath made by them in the last Parliament. And further, they prayed our Lord the King that he would hold them entirely excused, and that they might never be penalised or suffer at any future time for their action. This petition the King graciously granted, and willingly agreed to it.

[Articles presented by the Commons.]

Firstly, that it shall please our Sovereign Lord the King to choose and appoint such Councillors and officers as are well-pleasing to God and agreeable to his people, who shall give him advice and be of his Continual Council until the next

Parliament, and a reasonable number of them shall remain continually about his Royal Person. . . .

(No. 5.) That it may please our Lord the King to allow his said Councillors to have full knowledge and information concerning the state and administration of his very honourable Household, Chamber, and Wardrobe, and of all other places and offices which may spend the Revenue of the Realm. . . .

[No. 6 makes provision for certain sums to be set aside for the Household, Chamber, and Wardrobe.]

(No. 7.) That no man nor woman shall take nor receive any gift from the King, from the 17th day of December, the 8th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord the King, until the end of the next Parliament, out of the Revenues, Profits, or other goods of the Realm above said. . . .

(No. 8.) That it may please (our said Sovereign Lord the King) to assign two days in the week for the receiving of petitions, that is to say Wednesday and Friday. . . .

(No. 10.) That it shall please our Sovereign Lord the King to command those of his Council not to bring before themselves for decision any matters or disputes determinable at common law, unless for reasonable cause and at the request of the judges. . . .

(No. 15.) That the Chancellor and Treasurer of England and Keeper of the Privy Seal, which now are, or in time to come shall be, shall perform their duties rightly and diligently, without . . . taking anything for carrying out and executing their said duties except from the King. . . .

(No. 16.) The same shall apply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chief Baron and all the Barons and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, the Clerk of the Treasury, the two Remembrancers, the Clerk of the Pipe, the Auditors, and all other officers and servants of the Exchequer and Receipt.

[Nos. 17, 18, 19, extend the same provision to the Clerk of the Rolls, Masters of Chancery, Clerk of the Hanaper, "Bouchiers"[1] and Clerks of the Crown, Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, Seneschal, Chamberlain, Treasurer, Controller and Cofferer of the King's Household.]

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[1] *Cf.* "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 139, "bowgerys of the chauncery," treasurers, bursars. See N.E.D.

(No. 23.) Since Sheriffs return as Knights of the Shire those who have not been duly elected, may it be ordained that there shall be contained in all the writs which from henceforth shall be issued out of Chancery a command that a proclamation be made fifteen days before the day of election in all the towns and parts of the county which shall have part in electing the said knights. . . .

(No. 24.) That all those of the King's Great Council, and all the chief officers . . . shall affirm and swear in this present Parliament, that they, and each of them as far as in them lies or shall lie, will carry out and act according to, and cause to be executed, the Common Law of the land, and the Statutes and Ordinances made and ordained before this time, as well for the King's Household as for the good governance of the Realm of England. . . .

(No. 31.) That it may be ordained and conceded that all the articles above said, and the contents of them in the form and manner in which they stand, may be enforced and considered binding as from the beginning of this present Parliament till the end of the next Parliament only.

18.

[Northumberland left Scotland in 1406 and wandered from Wales to France, from thence to Holland, and finally returned to Scotland in 1407. "Northern Chronicle": Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 283. (Lat.).]

The Earl of Northumberland, who had been Constable, remained for about a year in Scotland with the Duke of Albany. After he had made a sworn compact with him, he left Henry, his heir aforesaid, with him, and went to Wales in order to get supporters; but finding no safe refuge there, he sailed to France, where he went daily from place to place, and from one noble to another, seeking a shelter; but he was able to obtain but little or no counsel or comfort.

At length (1407) he returned to Scotland to the Duke of Albany, where he remained for a very short time. Shortly afterwards (Feb., 1408), he entered England, and came to the town of Ripon, where about eight hundred men joined him. From there he proceeded to the town of Tadcaster. But Lord Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of York, gathered together a great host of the common people, and advanced against the Earl aforesaid on Bramham Moor (20 Feb.), where the said Earl was killed, and the Lord Bardolf captured half-dead, and many were killed on each side, and the others on the side of the Earl fled or were captured.

Then the sheriff of York took the body of the Earl, and the Lord Bardolf, who died soon after they had gone four miles owing to his great grief, and he brought the bodies of both to York castle. There, by command of the King, the bodies were divided into four parts, and sent to different cities and hung up at the entrance gates; and their heads were hung up likewise.

19.

[The hostility aroused by the murder of the Duke of Orleans in 1407, at the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy, resulted, in 1411, in the outbreak of war between the two parties. Both made overtures for an English alliance but Henry wished to remain at peace. Owing to the influence of Prince Henry, however, an expedition was sent to assist Burgundy. In 1412 a change of ministry ensued, Arundel replacing Beaufort as Chancellor, and the foreign policy was consequently reversed. "Brut.," E.E.T.S., 371.]

And the same yere came the ambascetus of Fraunce yn-to Engelonde, from the Duk of Burgoyne, unto the prince of Engelonde, King Harryes sone and his heire, for help & socour of men of armes and archers ayens the Duk of Orlyauns. And he sent forth the Erle of Arundell, Ser Gylbarde Umfrauylle, Erle of Kyme, and the Lorde of Cobham, Ser John Oldecastell, and mony other gode knyghtis and worthi squyers and men of armes, and gode archers, ovyr see yn-to Fraunce, and comyn to Parys, to the Duk of Burgoyne, there he resceyvyed and welcomyde these Englisch lordis and alle hir meyne.

And thanne it was do hym to wete that the Duk of Orlyaunce was come to Senclowe, faste by Parys, with a grete noumbre of men, and foughtyn with ham, and gotyn the brygge of Senclowe; & there thay slow mony of the Frensch men and Armenackes and the remnaunt fledde, and wolde no lengir abide. And oure Englysch men comyn ayen to Paris; & there they tokyn hir leve of the Duke and comen hom ayen yn-to Engelonde yn saafte, & he yaf ham gret yeftis. Anon folowyng, the Duk of Orlyaunce sent ambassetours yn-to Engelond, to King Harry the iiijth, besechyng hym of his help & socour ayens his dedely enymye, the Duke of Burgoyne. And than the King made Thomas, his sone, Duke of Clarance, & his other sone John Duke of Bedforde, and his other sone Umfray Duk of Gloucestre; and Ser Thomas Beauforde, Erle of Somerset; & the Duk of Awmarle he made Duk of Yorke. And than the King ordeyned his sone Thomas, and Beauford, Erle of Somerset, and Sir John Cornewayle, and meny other lordis, knightis & squyers, men of armes and archers, to go ouyr yn-to Fraunce, yn helpyng & streyngthyng of the Duke of Orlyaunce. . . . So thei ryden forth throughout Fraunce, and token Castell & toune, & slows mych pepil of Frenschmen that with-stode ham, and tokyn meny prysoners as thay roode; and so thai passyd forth til thay comyn to Burdeux.

20.

[Death of Henry IV. "Cal. Letter Book I," 113.]

20th March, between the hours of seven and eight in the morning, A.D. 1412 (O.S.), died King Henry IV at Westminster, immediately after whose death Henry V, his first-born son, began to reign.

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21.

[Sir John Oldcastle had been tried for heresy before the Archbishop of Canterbury in September, 1413, and was condemned and delivered to the secular jurisdiction to be put to death. On 19 October he escaped from the Tower, and was the leader of a plot to seize the King in January, 1414. He was burnt on 14 December, 1417, see Rot. Parl., iv. 107-8; "London Chron., 1413-18"; Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 292.]

And in the same yere was syr John Oldecastell, knyght, lord of Cobham, arested unto the Towre of London. And the same yere he brak the prison and wente awey. And the same yere purposed the forsayde syr John to haue slayn the kyng and his lordes at Eltham, that is to seye the xij day atte nyght. And that same nyght the mayere of London hadde warnyng therof. And he toke the aldermen and all the wardes of London, and made grete wache that nyght. And that same nyght the mayre toke John Burgate, carpenter, and many other of the same sekt and consentyng to the forsayde syr John. And that same yere the xij day fell vp on the saterday. And the Moneday next after the Kyng whit his lordes come fro Eltham thorowe London vnto Westm. And on the morn after at nygth the kyng and his lordes toke the feld: for he hadde tydyng that the forsayde syr John and syr Roger of Acton schulde be in the same feld the Wednesday next folowyng w^{t} xxv. Ml. people for to distroie the Kyng and all his lordes: and the same nyzght the Kynges men toke of hem iiij^{xx} and moo of syr John Oldecastell meyne. And the friday after was forjuged of such traytours atte Westm. lxix, and led to the Tour. And the same day xij of hem weren drawe from the Towr vnto Neugate. And on the morn after were xxv moo of hem drawen from the Tour vnto Newgate, and forth all in fere vnto seint Giles; and there was made new galows for hem. And there thei were hanged euerychon: and vij of hem were brent galows and all, and xxix henge styll on the galowes. And the ffriday, the xix day of Janyuer, were iiij moo drawen and hanged: of wiche one was a preest that hyght syr John Beuerley, the ij was John Burgate, the thirde a texte writer of sent Jones strete, and the iiij was a Glouer on London Brigge. Also the same yere, the xxv day of Janyuer, was a preest that hit syr Water drawen and hanged for treson: the weche preeste, as men seydon, had bought for Cobham as many bowes, arowes and other stuff as cost ix mark. And that same yere was taken the forsaide Syr Roger of Acton. And the viij day of ffeuerer after he was dampned for treson. And he was drawen and hanged at sent Gyles, and there was he buryed vnder the same Galowes.

22.

In December, 1413, French Ambassadors representing the Armagnac government came to England and a truce was concluded to last until February, 1415. In May, 1414, Henry concluded a secret treaty with the Burgundians, who had also sent an embassy to England. Negotiations with the Armagnacs were, however, continued and envoys were sent to France in July. "Chronique du Réligieux de S. Denys," v. 377. (Lat.).]

The King of England sent to him (King of France) under a safe conduct, a solemn embassy consisting of the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Grey, and many other persons renowned for their wisdom. The Duke of Berri gave them a magnificent reception; he assigned to them beautiful rooms in the royal palace, treated them sumptuously at the King's expense, entertained them royally for several days and loaded them with gifts. When they were admitted to the Council, and it was permitted to them to reveal the object of their missions, they said that they had come to make two requests on the part of their master: first, that they would do justice towards him, and restore to him the crown and kingdom of France which belonged to him; secondly, that they would give him in marriage the hand of the Lady Catherine, daughter of the King of France. Although these claims of the King were so ridiculous, for he was claiming a title which had never belonged to his predecessors, as is abundantly proved in old chronicles, yet they did not fail to discuss the matter seriously. After this the Duke of Berri offered the ambassadors some towns, counties, and lordships in the Duchy of Aquitaine should the King agree. As to the proposal concerning the marriage with the Lady Catherine, the Duke replied that that question could not be discussed without his Majesty's consent. The ambassadors withdrew, satisfied with this answer, and promised to return to discuss the matter again. In leaving, they took away with them golden vases and tapestries of an inestimable price and value, which the Duke ordered to be taken from his treasury to be given to them.

23.

[Although the story of the tennis-balls is here placed after the English ambassadors had been sent to France, the more probable date is the spring of 1414, after the return of the first French embassy. The incident is said to have taken place at Kenilworth of which John Strecche was a canon. "Chron., John Strecche," B.M. MS. Add. 35295, fo. 266 (Lat.); *cf.* Kingsford, "First English Life of King Henry V," Intro., xliii.]

King Henry, distinguished for the nobility of his character, in the second year of his reign sent to France certain ambassadors in state, a bishop, two doctors and two knights in fitting array. They deliberated with the King of France and his council concerning a marriage to be solemnly celebrated between Henry, King of England, and the noble Lady Catherine, daughter of the King of France, but these ambassadors of the King of England conferred but shortly with the French on this matter, without arriving at any conclusion consistent with the honour or to the advantage of our King of England. For these Frenchmen, lacking in foresight, their harmful pride kindled, answered the ambassadors of the King of England foolishly, casting at them taunting words, saying that they would send to Henry, King of England, who was but young, little balls to play with and soft cushions to rest upon until he should attain to a man's strength. When he had heard this saying, the King was troubled and greatly disturbed, yet, in short, wise, and becoming words he thus addressed those standing around him: "If God wills, and my life is so long preserved, in a few months I shall play with such balls in the Frenchmen's streets, that it shall so happen that they shall lose their jest, and for their game, gain but grief. And if they sleep too long upon their cushions in their chamber, perchance, before they wish, I shall arouse them from their slumbers by hammering on their doors at dawn."

24.

[The question of war with France was laid before the Council on 22 September, 1414. Issue Roll, Pasch., 2 Hen. V, m. 15. See "Transactions of R.H.S.," Series IV, vol. i. 167; Nicolas, "Proc.," ii. 140. (The MS. is defective. (. . .) represent passages which are illegible.)]

Where opon oure soverein Lorde as wel oure lordes as we have comuned by youre hye commandement in these materes and knowen wel amongst us alle with oute (. . .) so cristen a Prince that ye volde in so hye a matere bigynne nothing but that were to Goddes plesance and to eschue by alle (. . .) weyes the shedyng of cristen blood and that yf algate ye sholde do hit that denying of ryght and reson were cause (. . .) than wilfulhed. Wherefore oure soverein and gracious lige Lord (it thynkes) as wel oure lordes as (to) us in oon herte in (. . .) oon opinion (that it were spedefull to sende) swiche ambassiatours to every partie as (. . . esse) and claym requerith suffisantly instruct for the right and recoverir of that is above said. And if ye oure soverein Lord at the reverence of God like of youre propre mocion withoute oure conseil yevyng ther too eny mene wey (. . .) offre that wer modaryng of youre hoole title or of eny of youre claymes beyonde the see and here opon youre adverse partie denyyng yow bothe right and reson and alle resonable mene weyes we trusten alle in Goddes grace that alle youre workes in pursuyng hem shulde take the better spede and conclusion, and in the mene while that alle the werks of redynesse that may be to youre viage thought or wrought that hit be doo by the hie avis of yow and of youre noble conseil. Seyng (. . .) that the seuertee of youre real estat the pees of youre lond the sauf warde of alle youre (. . .) be wel and suffissantly purveied above alle things. And these observed we shul be redy with oure bodyes to do yow the service that we may to oure powers as far as we oughte and as oure anncestres have doo to youre noble progenitours in similar occasions.

(In dorso) The counsel of the lords and knights in the Council at Westminster the second year of the King Henry vth. (Fr.)

25.

[Before receiving a definite answer to his embassy, however, Henry began preparing for war. Rymer, x. 160; Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. V, m. 16. (Lat.).]

To the collectors of his customs and subsidies in the port of London, and to the controllers of the tolls in the same port, greeting. For certain reasons now weighing with us, we and our council command and firmly enjoin you that you allow no merchant or any foreigner of whatever estate, degree or condition he be, to take gun-powder to foreign parts from the said port without our special command. And this you will on no account omit to do, under pain of forfeiture to us.

Dated, Westminster, 26 September.

The same to twelve other ports.

26.

[On 19 November Parliament met, and Henry Beaufort, the Chancellor, opened the proceedings with a warlike speech, to which the Commons responded by voting a grant for the war. Rot. Parl., iv. 34 (Fr.).]

But he said, in order to carry out successfully this high and honourable purpose, there are three things most needful; that is to say, the wise and loyal counsel of his lieges, the strong and true assistance of his people, and a plentiful subsidy from his people. All these things they would readily grant, for the greater the patrimony of the prince, the more are the charges imposed upon his subjects diminished, and if these things are accomplished, great honour and glory may truly be expected. . . .

To the honour of God, and for the great love and true affection which the poor Commons of your Realm bear to you, our redoubt Lord the King, your said poor Commons, of their free will, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, grant to you, our very sovereign Lord the King, for the defence of your realm of England and for the sure and safe keeping of the sea, two whole fifteenths and two whole tenths, to be levied from lay people in the accustomed way.

27.

[Henry then went forward with the military preparations. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. V, i. 292, dated 26 November, 1414. *Cf.* *ibid.*, p. 327.]

Commission to William Wodeward, "ffoundour," and Gerard Sprunk to take copper, brass, bronze and iron and all other kinds of metals for making certain guns of the king and pots, bowls, and kettles and other vessels concerning William's mistery pertaining to the king's kitchen, and timber, "salpetir," and stone for the guns and coals for making the guns and vessels, and workmen of the said mistery and other workmen and makers of guns, stone-cutters, carpenters, smiths and other labourers and workmen in the city and suburbs of London and elsewhere and carriage.

28.

[Another embassy was sent to Paris in February, 1415, but returned in March without arranging any terms. At a Great Council held about March or April, the Lords agreed to advance the King money for the war. Nicolas, "Proc.," ii. 150. (Fr.).]

A Parliament was held at Westminster in the Michaelmas term in the second year. In this Parliament[1] our said Lord the

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[1] No mention of this occurs in the Roll. The request was made at a meeting of the Council in September, 1414. See above, p. 31.

King was asked by all the estates and the commonalty therein that before embarking upon any such expedition, he should first, for the honour and reverence of God, be pleased to send to his adversaries, to require of them that they should do him right and justice in accordance with his demands. To that request the King had graciously acceded and had since sent his ambassadors in state to his adversary of France. These had returned, without reporting any success of their Embassy. Therefore, in order to come to terms and accord, to put an end to all the debates, questions, and wars between the kingdoms of England and France, our said Lord the King proposed to his said adversary to moderate his claims to those things which of right belong to him. And since the adverse party refused to concede his just demands, our Lord the King proposes to set forth upon his expedition, and explains to the temporal lords afore-mentioned, that although in the Parliament aforesaid many of them had offered their services to our said Lord the King for the said expedition, with as many of their followers as it should please our said Lord the King to appoint and assign, receiving payment therefor, that is to say for the first quarter, at the beginning thereof, and for the second and third quarters that follow at the end of the second quarter, etc., yet since the sums granted to our said Lord the King as above cannot be raised in so short a time, he asks the said lords temporal to grant him a favour and to agree to take their payments in this way, that is, for the first quarter at the beginning of the second quarter, and for the second quarter at the end of the said second quarter, for the third quarter at the end of the said third quarter, and thus from quarter to quarter at the end of each quarter. To this the said lords temporal, after they had discussed the matter apart, agreed, provided they might have sufficient surety that they would truly receive such payments. For this the King heartily thanked them, and commanded them to be there on Tuesday next, in order to tell him what sureties they would require, and promising them these sureties if he should be able to grant them.

And he thanked the lords spiritual for that which they had granted in their said convocation, and requested them to take council together concerning such aid as they might well give by way of a loan for the good success and furtherance of his expedition aforesaid, over and above that which they had granted in their convocation, and to report to the King as soon as they well might.

29.

[Further loans were promised by foreign merchants. Minutes of a Council held on Friday, 25 May, 3 Hen. V, 1415. Nicolas, "Proc.," ii. 165. (Fr.).]

At the Friars Preachers of London there came before (the Council) six members of the company of merchants of Florence dwelling in London, four members of the company of merchants of Venice dwelling in the same city, and two members of the company of Lucca. And the Chancellor said to each of the said companies severally that it was customary for foreign merchants carrying on their business in countries other than their own, in times of necessity, to lend or make a loan of, to the sovereign of that country in which they were dwelling, as large a sum as they were able to afford, or else to be committed to prison, and to remain there according to the pleasure of the said Sovereign. And taking this into consideration, and seeing that the merchants of the said three companies enjoy great privileges and liberties, by the grace and condescension of the King, whereby they reap great profits and advantages through the pursuit of their trade in the realm of England, they are required to make a loan on a sufficient security of gold and silver and other jewels, for the purpose of assisting the King to carry out his journey . . . That is to say, the sum of Mcc.li. from those of Florence, M.li. from those of Venice, and cc.li. from those of Lucca. And if they refuse to lend these sums to our Lord the King, let them be committed to the keeper of the Fleet prison, and kept in security there during the King's pleasure.

30.

[A final embassy was sent from France in July, 1415, and the ambassadors were received by the King at Winchester. On the fourth day negotiations were broken off, after Henry's final reply had been delivered to the French envoys by the Chancellor. "Chronique du Réligieux de S. Denys," v. 523. (Lat.).]

You know that the King our master sent a second embassy to know the will of (the King of France) . . . after which you came, after shameful delays damaging to our cause, and that you offered him seventeen of the largest towns in Aquitaine with many counties and lordships as a satisfaction of his claims and 850,000 crowns for his marriage. . . . Seeing that (our ambassadors) have limited their demands for their master and in his name, to those things of lesser importance, of which King Edward, of noble memory, an ancestor of our said master, gained possession in peaceable wise, by a definitive treaty, and which possession he enjoyed peacefully and without challenge for some time; seeing, on the other hand, that the French ambassadors have offered but a small portion of these said possessions and will not declare in what manner our said Lord the King shall possess them, it seems clear to him that his said cousin of France has no intention of labouring sincerely and effectually to promote peace, in such a way and upon such conditions as he was led to expect by his letters. Therefore our said Lord, with the aid and assistance of divine justice, must have recourse to other remedies, taking God, angels and men, heaven and earth and all things therein to witness, that he is forced to this by the denial of justice and by the delays due to his said cousin; for he has never held nor will ever hold that the peace so long desired cannot be secured between the two realms by lawful and honourable means, such as the circumstances of the time shall demand and require.

The privy seal of our Lord the King is set to these present letters by his command as a warrant of his good faith in this answer.

31.

[After this, Henry prepared for the immediate sailing of his army from Southampton. Whilst there, a plot to take his life was discovered. Wals., "Hist. Ang.," R.S., ii. 305. (Lat.).]

Whilst the King was waiting at Southampton for the coming of his nobles who were to accompany him on the expedition, three of the most powerful of them, whom he had chosen from amongst them all to be made privy to his plans, plotted to encompass his death. If I should wish to withhold their names, they would be revealed in the report of such a shameful act, were I to keep silence. I will say, therefore, what it grieves me to say, and will not conceal the names of the traitors. The first and chief of them was Sir Henry Lescrope, to whose fidelity and constancy the King had entrusted his whole mind. . . . He had as fellow-conspirators Richard, Earl of Cambridge, a brother of the Duke of York, and Thomas Grey, a northern knight. This Richard the King had created an Earl, and had enriched him with many possessions, and had honoured him above the rest by reason of his lineage and parentage. . . . Nevertheless, before they were able to accomplish their crime, by the will of God, they were discovered, and by the judgment of their peers, the sentence of death by execution was passed upon them. Except in the case of Henry Scrope, who is said to have been drawn, the King pardoned them the other penalties which might have been justly imposed by law, and he is even said to have wept at their fate.

32.

[The fleet left Southampton on 11 August and arrived at Harfleur on 13 August. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 117.]

. . . togeder[1] to the gappe withowte more company; and then owre kyng tourned ayene and let on his hoste and comfortyd her and sayde: "ffelowes, beth a good cher, and ablowe yow and be-kele[1] yow wel, and comyth up all with youre ese, ffor with the love of God we schall haue good tydynges". And so owre kyng with his lordes lay to fore the towne of harflete, and the ffrensshmen hadden made a scluse to fore the towne of harflete, the brode of a myl, for to forbarre owre englysshmen fro the towne of harflete. And then owre kyng toke his bottes and searchyd the water. And ther lay owre kyng at the sege til the xxviij[2] day of Septembre next suyng, upon the which day the ffrenshmen come oute on safe condyte to entrete with the kynge, for thei may no longer wel holde the towne.

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[1] The beginning of the Chronicle is missing. The first line begins in the middle of a sentence at the word "togeder".

33.

[On 8 October, Henry left Harfleur and determined to march towards Calais. During the march various opinions were expressed as to the likelihood of the French offering battle. "Gesta, Hen. V," ed. B. Williams, Eng. Hist. Soc., 38. (Lat.).]

Meanwhile a rumour was spread through the army by certain prisoners, that a large number of Frenchmen were getting ready to attack us, and it was asserted that this would take place on the Sunday or Monday following, whilst we were crossing the River Somme. As to the manner of the battle, however, opinion amongst us differed; some were firmly convinced, that, taking into consideration the civil discord and deadly hatred which existed between the French princes and the Duke of Burgundy, the French would not wish to come out from the interior parts of the country and their strong places, lest, whilst they were away, a hostile force of the Duke of Burgundy would either pursue them from behind or seize their land from them by conquest. Others asserted, on the other hand, that if the French still possessed their old noble strength and military prowess, if there was any spirit of courage or humanity left in them they would not suffer such a stain upon their honour, which would go down to posterity as a reproach upon them, that they had grown base and cowardly and that they had degenerated from their old valour, since they dared not, indeed they feared to employ their military forces against the King of England, who invaded their land, remained there a long time, beseiging and taking towns, and at length with a few followers and a small army ravished great areas of their territory.

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[1] Keep cool.

[2] The correct date is 18 September. See "Chron. of London," 304.

34.

[The English met the French army at Agincourt on 25 October. (*a*) The Battle. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 119.]

And in Azyngcorte felde owre kynge faught with the ffrensshmen the ffryday to fore the day of symon and Jude; and ther all the ryall power of ffrensshemen come azenst owre kynge and his litill meyne, save the ffrenssh kynge and the dolfyne, and the duke of Borgoyn, and the duke of Barre; elles all the lordys of ffraunce lay tofore the kyng in his hy way as he schuld passe towarde calys, embateylyd in iij^{o} batayles, as the ffrensshemen sayde him silfe, the nowmbre of lx m^{li} men of armes, and tho were the faireste men of armys that ever any man saw in any place. And owre kynge with his litell mayne sey well he must nedys fyzte or he myght not come to Caleys by the hy way. And than he sayde to his lordys and to his mayne: "Syres and ffelowes, the yondre mayne thenk to lette us of owre way: and thei wil nat come to vs, lete euery man preve hym silfe a good man this day, and avant baner in the beste tyme of the yere; for as I am a trew kynge and knyht, for me this day schalle never Inglonde rawnsome pay; erste many a man schall leue is weddes,[1] for here erste to deth I will be dyght, and therefore lordynges, for the love of swete Jhesu, helpe mayntayne Inglondes ryght this day. Allso, Archers, to yow I pray, no fote that ye flee away, erste be we alle beten in this felde. And thenke be Englysshemen that never wolde flee at no batelle, for ayenste one of vs thowthe ther be ten, thenke Criste will help vs in owre ryght.

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[1] Wedde = pledge.

But I wolde no blood were spilte, Cryste helps me so now in this case, but tho that ben cause of this trespasse; when thou sittest in jugment, ther holde me excused tofore thi face, as thou art God omnipotent. But passe we all now in fere, Duke, Erle and Bachelere. Of all owre synnys he make us seker, Jentil Jhesu, borne of Marye, and as for vs thou deydyst on good fryday, as thi will was, so brynge vs to thi blisse on hy, and graunte vs ther to haue a place. Do and bete on faste." Owre kynge tho bad wythe full glad chere; and so thei dyd at that word, lord, knyghte and archere. Ther men myght see a semble sade, that turnyd many on to tene[1] and tray;[2] for many a lorde ther ryght low lay, that comen was fo blod full gent. By evensong tyme, sothely to say; ther holpe us god omnipotent.

[(*b*) Reception in London of the news of Agincourt. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 112.]

And in that same yere, onne the noon aftyr Syr Symonnys day and Jude,[3] that the Mayre shulde ryde to Westemyster for to take hys othe, come tydyngys to London of the batayle above sayde by the Byschoppe of Worseter,[4] that tyme being Chaunceler, for he come to London erly in the mornynge, and warnyd the mayre. And thenne thorowe London they lette rynge the belys in every chyrche and song Te Deum; and at Powlys, at ix of the clocke, the tydynges were oppynly proclaymed to alle the comeners of the cytte and to alle othyr strangerys. And thenne the Quene, and alle hyr byschoppys and alle the lordys that were in London that tyme, wentte to Westemyster on hyr fete a prosessyon to Synt Edwarde ys schryne, whythe alle the prestys, and clerkys, and fryers, and alle othyr relygyous men, devoutely syngynge ande saynge the letanye. And whenne they hadde offerde, the mayre com home rydynge merely whythe alle hys aldermen and comeners as they were i-wonnte for to doo.

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[1] Sorrow. [2] Grief. [3] 29 Oct.

[4] Wynchestre, see Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 269.

35.

[(*a*) Henry returned to England in November, 1415, leaving the Earl of Dorset as Captain of Harfleur. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 123.]

This yere the Erle of Dorset rood oute of harflewe the monday tofor seynt Clement day[1] towarde the place that the ffrensh kynge was inne and the dolphyn of ffraunce, the which place was clepyd Rowane. And at pavelen that is fovre englisch myle from Rowane the Erle of Dorset helde is stale,[2] and ther he toke prisoners ii M^{l} and xl of ffrenssh men. And my lorde of Dorset had had with hym of his men but viii c in all, and he retornede ayene the thorsday next suynge. And that same yere the Erle of Dorset rode oute into the contre the xix day of decembre, that is ii^{o} day to fore seynt thomas day to fore cristmas, and browght home w^{t} him into harflew viii c of churles of the contre. And that same yere oure kyng holde his cristmasse at Eltham. And whan his cristmas was done he come to the toure of london, and there he lay til the xxvi day of feberere, and on the xxvii day of the same month harry owre kyng roode northewarde. And the ix day of marche the Erle of Dorset made a rydyng owt xxx englisch myle into the londe, and he was owt Monday, Todesday, Wodensday and Thorsday; and in the commynge homewarde there file tofore hym and his mayne xxxvi c of ffrensshmen ayenst a M^{l} of Englysh men; there thei faught togeder Wodensday and the Thorsday, and worschiped be god the englissmen had the felde both dayes; and thei toke of ffrensshmen viii c of goode presoners, and a grete nowmbre of hem were ther sclayne; and also ther were ded of owre meyne of foles that wolde not be rewelyde what w^{t} paies and other many ouer, and all her horse and caryage were there take from hem, and many of theyre men were sore bete and the erle of Dorset hymself was hurte. And also the seconde day of April Syr William Clifforde w^{t} hys ffelaweschippe toke the toune of Rowele, that stant on the watere of Dordone. And upon the palme sonday next suynge, that was the xii day of Aprile, the ffrenschmen come downe w^t^ here vesselles into the maryes of Calais in the servis tyme to have prayed away owre bests, that weren in the marys; but thei were aspyede, and owre englisshmen went oute and toke and sclew hem, what w^t^ tho that were draynte the nowmbre of cc^o^, so there scapyd none of hem away.

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[1] 23 Nov.

[2] Company, band.

[(*b*) In May, 1416, fresh supplies were ordered to be sent to Harfleur. "Letter Book I," fo. clxxviii; Riley, "Memorials," 628.]

A crye made for comune passage toward Hareflieu.

"Be ther proclamacioun made, that alle manere of men, marchauntz, artificers, or other of what estat, degre, or condicioun, that evere theye be, that willen toward oure lige Lorde the Kyng, beyng atte Harflewe in the costes of Normandye, that God him spede, with corne, brede, mele, or floure, wyne, ale, or biere, fysshe, flesshe, or any other viteille, clothe, lynnen, wollene, or eny merchaundise, sheytys, breches, doublettys, hosene, shone, or eny other manere ware of armure, artilrye, or of othere stuffe; lette him apparaille[1] and make redy betwen this and to day sevenyght their bodyes, goodes, merchaundyses, ware, stoffure, viteilles what that ever it be; and in the mene while, come to the Mair, and he shalle dispose and assigne theym redy shippyng and passage unto the forseid costes."

36.

[(*a*) Emperor Sigismund was anxious to promote peace between France and England, in the interests of the Council of Constance. With this object he arrived in London on 7 May, 1416. "Brut," E.E.T.S., 380.]

And yn the thrydde yere of King Henreys regne the V^the^, came the Emperour of Almayne, King of Rome and of Hungary, yn-to Engelonde, and so to the cite of London. And the maire, aldermen, and scherevis, with the worthi craftis of London, be the Kingis commaundement met with hym on the Blake-Heath yn the best aray that thay cowthe, on hors bak; and there thay welcomyd hym and brought hym to London with moche honour and grete reverence. And atte Seint Thomas watryng there mette with hym the King and all his lordes yn gode aray. And there was a worthi metyng betwene the Emperour and the King; & there they kussid togadres, and braced ech othir; and than the King toke the Emperour be the hande; and so thai come rydyng throught the cite of London unto Seint Poules; and there thay lyghte and offred; and alle the Bischopes stode reversed, with censers yn here hondes, censyng. Thanne thei tokyn hir hors, and ryden to Westmynstre; and there the King loggyd the Emperoure yn his owne palis, & there restid hym a grete while, and alle atte the Kingis cost.

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[1] Prepare.

[(*b*) On 15 August an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between Henry and Sigismund, the French having refused to treat for peace. A conference with Burgundy was arranged to take place at Calais in September and Sigismund wrote to the King of France on 6 September remonstrating with him for his refusal. J. Caro, "Aus der Kanzlei Sigmunds," 111. (Lat.).]

Because we were not able to carry out our desire in person, we have entreated you by letters and messengers sent to you both before the battle with the King of England, and also many times since, and have besought the King of England by our prayers as of a brother, and earnest exhortations, to refrain from aggression, on both sides, for the sake of God, and of Holy Mother the Church, and the peace of Christendom and so that our prayers may be fulfilled. For in order to obtain peace between the realms of France and England, we have often spent sleepless nights, and have turned breakfast into dinner, to see if by ourselves, or by conferring with others, we might find any means of securing peace between you and him.

[(c) Henry gained no military assistance from Sigismund whose interests were centred in the proceedings at Constance. From a letter from Emp. Sigismund to Hen. V, Constance, December, 1417. J. Caro, "Aus der Kanzlei Sigmunds," 139. (Lat.).]

We had wished indeed, dearest brother, as God bears witness, for the furtherance of the welfare of both of us, to have come personally according to the agreement that we might have shown by our presence in what way and how much this business touches us; but we were misled by a false hope as to the shortness of the time in which the business of the Sacred Council might be concluded, and we firmly believe that it is well known, and that your Highness will also have been informed, that continual hindrances prevent our setting out, and do not allow us to carry out our wish.

37.

[The French had procured the assistance of the Genoese fleet. In August, 1416, therefore, Bedford set out to clear the Channel of hostile ships. Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 104.]

In the begynnyng of the forthe yere of the reigne of Kyng Herry the fyfthe, the duke of Bedford and the erle of March, with certeyne lordes and there retenue, foughton with vij carykes of Jene, and with aboughte l othere vesselles, some hulkes, some barges, some galys, and some galyottes; of whom, blessyd be God, he toke iij carykes with their patrons, and drowned a gret hulke that was called the Blake hulke of Flaundres, and the remenant fledden there wey: and this was don upon oure lady day the assumpcion,[1] the iiij yere above seid.

[In the following year, however, the Genoese fleet was still strong enough to be dangerous to Henry's expedition and the Earl of Huntingdon was sent out. *Ibid.*, 105.]

Upon seynt Petyr day and Poule,[2] the erle of Huntyngdon, with othere certeyn lordes and there retenue, foughten with ix carykes of Jene, the grettest that evere were seyn in this coostes, and scomfited them; of which, thanked be God, he toke iiij grete with there patrons, and the admirall of them alle was called the bastard of Burbon, with alle the tresoure that they alle schulde aben waged with for a quarter of a yere; and the othere carykes fledden awey.

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[1] 15 Aug.

[2] 29 June.

38.

[(*a*) Henry left England on his second expedition in August, 1417. "Chron. John Strecche," B.M. Add. MS. 35295, fo. 270vo. (Lat.).]

In the year of Our Lord 1418 (1417) the fifth (fourth) year of the reign of King Henry V, at the beginning of the month of May, about the time of the feast of St. John, before the Latin Gate,[1] King Henry had got ready his ships in the harbour of Portsmouth, and had gathered them into a great fleet, and all other things necessary for the expedition were provided and prepared. With a splendid army of his people he set forth, with sails spread, towards the south (July) and in a short time, the wind being favourable, the King with all his men arrived safely at Touques in Normandy and landed on the shore (1 Aug.). And at once beginning a battle outside the city and its castle, he captured it, and arranged for its occupation. And afterwards he hastened to the siege of the town of St. Sauveur. This he quickly captured, left in the hands of a guard, and hastened to the town of Caen. Here he pitched his tents and laid siege to the town on all sides. But first he captured the Abbey of St. Stephen, situated near the walls of the town, which King William the Conqueror of England founded, and in which he is buried, and shortly afterwards the king captured the town (8 Oct.) and brought it under his dominion and appointed a captain with other guards to take charge of it. Then the King prepared himself and his men to besiege Falaise (1 Dec.), but was unable to capture it with ease, and after attacking it for some time the King changed his purpose in the midst of the siege, and sent his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to the town of Cherbourg to besiege and capture it, and he sent Richard, Earl of Warwick, with his men to Domfront to take it and punish the inhabitants.

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[1] 6 May.

And King Henry determined to send the Duke of Clarence, his brother, with his men to the Abbey of Bec Hellouin in Normandy, and to the castle of Harcourt. These two places are very strong and hard of capture, and there is no great distance between them. The Duke laid siege to the abbey and assailed it with violence. During the siege of it, however, on Easter Day, in veneration of the feast, the said Duke of Clarence went to a certain parish church near by to hear the divine office and to receive the Sacrament as the Christian custom is. But one within the town, planning evil, and whilst the Duke was returning from the church to his tent, hurled a great stone from a cannon with force, in order to kill the Duke, but thanks be to God, the Duke escaped it in safety. But the Duke's anger was aroused at this nefarious deed, and he sent into the abbey for the traitor to demand that he should come shortly to the Duke who was greatly enraged. When he had come, the Duke ordered him to be hung on a high gallows before all the people. Shortly after this the Duke took the said castle and abbey, and put them into subjection to the King of England (4 May, 1418). Now, however, a great good fortune befell Henry King of England during the said siege. For, on a certain day, the King went to the tent of the Earl of Salisbury, for the sake of conversing privately with him on certain matters. And whilst the king was standing talking in the earl's tent, near the chief tent post, he bent his head, and some gunner from within the town at that moment shot out a stone which shivered the post, where the King was standing with his head bent, into splinters, and that time, thanks be to God, the King escaped. Then the King gratefully gave thanks to God Who had saved him. And the King saw that the tent was being erected in its former position without any confusion. After this the King delivered many heavy assaults against the said town, and quickly captured it (23 June) in an attack, and delivered it to a faithful guardian. And after its capture, the king hung eight gunners on a gallows and at the request of a certain cardinal condemned nine to perpetual imprisonment in the worthy town of Louviers, as it is said. After the siege, the King hastened, in royal manner, with his army fittingly arrayed, to besiege the town of Pont de l'Arche. This is a strong city and nobly fortified. The town is situated on one of the banks of the Seine, and the castle of the town stands in stately manner on the other, a strong bridge over the water joining the two, a bridge built and erected in marvellous fashion over the deep abyss, and a good defence in time of war. For no ships could come up the river, nor was any passage open to the town aforesaid without permission from those on the bridge and in the castle. When King Henry arrived at the place, he considered the position and erected his tents. And the King laid fierce siege to the town from the side on which was the castle, and daily for many days delivered assaults upon it. And after fifteen days the King took the town with its castle, after hard fighting, with the loss of many noble persons (23 July).

[(*b*) Letter from Henry V to the Mayor of London announcing the fall of Caen. "Letter Book I," fo. cc; Riley, "Memorials," 567.]

By the Kyng. Right trusty and wel beloved. We grete you often tymes wel, doyng you to undirstonde that on Seint Cuthbertes Day, the Translacioun (4 September), Almighty God, of His high grace, send un to oure handes oure towne of Caen, by assault, and with righte litell dethe of oure peple; whereof we thanke Our Saviour so loweliche as we can or may, praying you that ye do the same, and as devoutly as ye can; certefying you also, that we and our host been in good prosperite and helth, thankyd be God of Hys mercy, who have you in Hys kepyng. Yeven under our Signet, in our sayd towne of Caen, the vte day of Septembre.

39.

[From Pont de l'Arche Henry set out towards Rouen. John Page, "The Siege of Rouen"; Hist. Coll. of a London Citizen, C.S., 1-46.]

The Fryday be fore Lammasse daye [1]
The kynge remevyde in ryche a raye
To the cytte of grete pryde,
And loggyd hym a lytylle ther be syde.

. . . .

Oure kynge commaundyd with his crye
In harnys every man to lye.
With owtyn the border of hys oste
He made a dyche of grete coste,
Pyght [2] with stakys that wolde perysce
With turnepykys, and with many an hers; [3]
Govnnys goode and redy bente,
They were layde in many went.[4]

. . . .

[The siege continued till Christmas.]

Bp that tyme there vytayle waxyd scars
Mete and drynke and othyr vytayle
In that citte be-gan to fayle
Save clene watyr they hadde i-nowe,
And vyneger to put there twoe,
Hyr brede was fulle ny gone
And flesche save hors hadde they non.
They etete doggys, they ete cattys;
They ete mysse, horse and rattys.
For an hors quarter, lene or fatte,
At cs. hyt was atte,
A horse hedde for halfe a pound;
A dogge for the same mony round;
For xxxd went a ratte
For ij noblys went a catte,
For vid went a mous;

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[1] Aug. [2] Staked. [3] Fortification. [4] Passages.

They left but fewe in any house.
For brede as brode as my hond
Was worthe a franke, I undyrstond.
Hyt was febyll that they myght fynd,
For hyt was made in syche a kynde,
Ne of melle, ne of otys,
Bot of branne, God it wotys.
Oynonnys, lykys, bothe in fere.[1]
Was to hem a mete fulle dere;
There of was a pece at a schelynge.
Welle was hym that myght gete a pyllynge.[2]
A negge at ixd. a nappylle at xd.;
Suche a market was a-monge thes men.

. . . .

[In January, 1419, a parley was held between the two parties.]

We than chalengyde and accused,
And they answeryd and excusyd.
We askyd moche and they proferd smalle,
That was ylle to corde with alle,
So they tretyd a forghtnyght,
And yet a corde they ne myght.

. . . .

[A second conference was held however: the city was to be surrendered on 19 January, provided no help came.]

Whenn the gates were opynd there,
And they were redy in for to fare,
Tromppettys [3] blewe ther bemys [4] of bras,
Pypys and claryons bothe ther was,
As they enteryd they gave a schoute
With a voyce, and that a stoute,
"Syn Jorge! Syn Jorge!" they cryde on hyght,
"Well come Rone, our kyngys owne ryght!"

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[1] Together.

[2] That which is peeled off, e.g. rind.

[3] Trumpeters.

[4] Trumpets.

40.

[(*a*) The Dauphin was negotiating early in 1419 with the King of Castile to supply him with ships. Letter from Henry V, P.R.O. "Ancient Correspondence," Vol. xliii., No. 162.]

Worshipful fader in God right trusti and welbeloved we grete you wel and witeth that we been enformed that the kyng of Castel maketh a grete armee of vessels whiche shuld be redy in short tyme as is sayde for to doo the harme ayenst us and oures that thay may whiche god defende and in especiale that thaire purpos is . . . to brynne and destrue . . . oure shippes at Hampton and also thaire ordinance is to lande in oure Reaume for to doo thannoye that they may. Wherefore we wol and charge you that by thavys of oure brother of Bedford and of othir suche as semeth to youre discreccion ye ordenne in alle haste for the governance of oure lande and for the saufwarde of saivkepyng of oure vessels at Hampton and in othir places where as evre thay be. And that thay of the portes and of the see coost be warned here of in alle haste—charged to be wel awaytyng and redy at al tymes if ony suche thyng happen. Yeven under oure signet in oure castel of Rouen the xii day of Feverer.

[(*b*) Later in the year Henry learnt that the Spanish ships were to bring soldiers from Scotland to assist the French, but the English failed to intercept them. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. V, ii. 268, 12 August.]

Commission to the Sheriff of Devon, because the king has learned for certain that the Dauphin . . . has caused divers ships and vessels to be prepared to pass by the west coast of England to Scotland to receive a number of people at arms and archers of the Scots, and bring them to France to fortify the king's said adversary, and the king, with the advice of the council, has ordered an armed force to be at sea on the said coast to hinder this and wishes to provide it with sufficient shipping, to take eight ships or balingers with sufficient gear, each ship of the portage of sixty tuns, and each balinger of twenty tuns and over, without delay in one port within his bailiwick to serve the king at sea for this cause and bring them at all speed to the ports within his bailiwick, which may seem best to the captains of the shipping.

The like to the Sheriff of Cornwall to take four ships and balingers.

41.

[Henry remained at Rouen until 25 March, and made an agreement with the Dauphin for a conference to be held between Evreux and Dreux on 26 March. "Chron. John Strecche," B.M. Add. MS. 35295, fo. 275vo. (Lat.).]

King Henry remained there in his said castle from the feast of St. Wolstan[1] until the feast of the Annunciation,[2] as it is reported, with all things ordered and established in peace and quiet. At the feast of the Purification [3] however, King Henry purposed to make the ceremonial offering of his candle at the chief monastery of this city, which is called Notre Dame. But the citizens of this city, intriguing to take the life of King Henry, determined to arm themselves suddenly and to attack the King, seize him and kill him in the monastery aforesaid. But thanks be to God, their plot did not remain hidden from the King. For the King anticipated their evil design, and fell upon them with an armed band whilst they were arming in a secret place preparing to kill the King. And thus even whilst they were plotting these evil deeds the King captured them all and imprisoned them. And he sent fifty of the richest and most powerful of them to England and imprisoned them in various castles. And every day before receiving food, as a ransom on account of their crime, they were compelled by way of a penalty to give and pay to King Henry, each one for himself, twenty shillings. And this payment lasted continuously throughout thirty-six weeks as a punishment for their misdeed, to the profit and advantage of Henry, King of England.

After this, in the Lent following, whilst the King was still

[1] 19 Jan. [2] 25 Mar. [3] 2 Feb.

remaining in Rouen, he who is called in France the Dauphin, sent to King Henry, requesting him to come to him with four thousand soldiers at the town of Evreux to treat of peace. King Henry replied in these words. If he would give him the whole of France, he would willingly come and seek to find a means of agreement as to peace or war. Then King Henry left Rouen with his army and went to Evreux with all speed where he waited for the coming of the said Dauphin for a short time. But he did not come to King Henry, wherefore the King's anger was aroused, and he took a solemn oath that in all his life he would never treat with him concerning peace except at the sword's point.

After the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady in the month of April in the year of Our Lord 1419, in the sixth year of his reign, King Henry moved his army from the town of Evreux, in order to lay siege to the town of Vernon-on-Seine. He erected his tents and surrounded the town and in a few days he took the town by assault, captured it, and made himself master of it. And when this was known throughout the land, towns, cities, fortresses, and castles in Normandy humbly surrendered to King Henry. After this King Henry hastened with his army into France and laid siege to the town of Mantes. He erected his tents and placed his soldiers around the town. After heavy attacks, he took it and captured it at the end of a month, and he was turned from his purpose. And after its capture he entered the town and remained there for many days. And whilst he was prolonging his stay in the said town, he despatched Sir John Radcliff and Sir William Porter with many other soldiers, a noble company, to the town of Dreux to begin to lay siege to it, and this they began speedily and valiantly to do and delivered many attacks upon it with fierce fighting.

After twelve weeks the town was taken, and King Henry's purpose was fulfilled. Whilst the King was remaining in the town of Mantes, he sent the Duke of Exeter to Normandy to the Chateau Gaillard, a place of great strength, in order to besiege and capture it. When this noble Duke arrived there, he laid siege to it valiantly with every precaution of war, but in spite of heavy assaults and many endeavours, he was not able to take it. But the Duke lay there for six months, diligently assailing the castle, and triumphantly captured it (November), having effectually blockaded the city and wrought havoc therein by his attacks. And he maintained that castle as a protection for those English, who in the time of King Henry V should fortify the said castle. Meanwhile, while King Henry, as it is said, was waiting in the town of Mantes, he sent the Duke of Clarence his brother into France to the town of Pontoise.

42.

[In June, Henry, the King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy met near Meulan, but failed to come to any agreement. In July a secret treaty was concluded between Burgundy and the Dauphin. Henry therefore resumed hostilities against the latter, and captured Pontoise on 31 July. A further meeting was arranged to take place between Burgundy and the Dauphin at Montereau on 10 September, where the Duke was murdered by followers of the Dauphin. Letter from Isabelle, Queen of France, to Henry V. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, "Hist. de Chas. VII," i. 186. (Fr.).]

As regards the negotiations secretly begun between my Lord and yourself, and also the negotiations between the Dauphin and our cousin the Duke of Burgundy, whom God prosper, in these negotiations, my said Lord, you and ourselves, and also our said cousin, have been deceived by the crooked intrigues of our said son to the great humiliation of the nobility, and to the oppression and destruction of Christian people, and contrary to the single intentions of my said Lord, of us and of our said cousin. . . .

Most high and excellent prince our cousin, you are aware, as was declared to your appointed ambassadors who were in our presence at Pontoise, that a new treaty has been concluded between our said son and our said cousin of Burgundy, and that we have demanded a month's truce, within which time our said son has promised and sworn to come before my said Lord and ourselves, for when he comes, we intend to complete what has already been begun between my said Lord and you, by which means we hope to establish a lasting peace between the realms of France and England and likewise between the subjects of this kingdom. And although the terms that you there offered would have satisfied us there was a great difficulty in our accepting them and concluding a treaty with you, for all our councillors declared that we must wait for our said son, and that if we had accepted your terms and concluded a treaty, all the barons, knights, cities and good towns of my said Lord would have abandoned and deserted us and have joined our said son, whence still greater wars would have come. It seemed therefore that, these negotiations having come to nothing, our said cousin should endeavour to persuade our said son to come before us as he had promised, and which he was delaying to do, saying that he wished first to parley with our said cousin of Burgundy. And after several embassies had been despatched to our said son, Sunday 10 September last past, was fixed as the day upon which they should meet, upon the bridge of Montereau-faut Yonne. . . . After our said cousin had given him (the Dauphin) a courteous and humble greeting, and had offered him himself, money, and his friends, several armed men came out from a hiding place constructed in one of the rooms, and together struck with axes our said cousin who was kneeling before our said son, and there brutally murdered him against God, justice, reason, faith and law, and took prisoner the knights who had accompanied him to this fateful meeting. . . . We intend . . . to assist my said Lord and the son of Burgundy, the present Duke, to avenge this unreasonable and cruel death of our said cousin, and we have already found that the loyal barons, cities and good towns hereabouts, are willing to support us. Nevertheless we are still desirous of preserving peace, amity, and concord with you . . . and we therefore earnestly beseech you, out of your reverence and love for our Saviour, the Prince of Peace, and in order to aid us in avenging the sad death of our said cousin . . . that you will not allow the delays which have occurred to cool your desire in any way for the conclusion of the said peace. . . .

Written at Troyes the 22nd day of September; and in order that you may be the better informed of our desires, we have signed these present letters with our own hand, greatly trusting in your goodwill, of which we have formerly had knowledge as much from your own mouth as otherwise.

YSABEL.

43.

[In the same month (September, 1419) both Philip, the new Duke of Burgundy and the French King entered into negotiations with Henry. By 5 January, 1420, an agreement had been reached between Henry and Burgundy, and on 21 May, the Treaty of Troyes between Henry and the French King was ratified in the Cathedral. Rymer, ix. 916. Rot. Claus. 8 Hen. V, m. 12d.]

Henry, by the Grace of God, Kyng of Inglond, Heire and Regent of France, and Lord of Irland, to perpetual mynde, to all Kristen People, and to all yo that bene undir our obeissaunce, we notifie and declare that, . . . we have taken a Tretye wyth our forsayd Fader (Charles of France); in the whiche Trety, betwix our forsayd Fadir and Us, it is concludid and accordid in the forme after the maner that folewyth.

First, it is accordid betwene our sayd Fadir of France and Us, that for as much as, by the Bond of Matrimonie maad for the good of Peas, betwene Us and our most dere and moste belovyd Katereyne, the Daughter of our sayd Fadir and of oure most dere Moder Isabell his wife, thoo same Charles and Isabell bene made our Fadir and Modir, therefore thaime as our Fadir and Modir we shall have, and worship, and, as it fittith suche and so worthy a Prince and Princesse, for to be worshiped principally to fore all other Temporall Persons of this world.

Also, that we shall not distourbe, disase, nor lett oure sayd Fadir, bot that he holde and possede, as long as he lyveth, as he holdeth and possedith at this tyme, the Croune and the dignitee Roialle of France, and Rentes, Fruytes, Proffitz of the same, to the Sustinance of his Estate and Charges of the Roiaulme; . . .

Also that after the deth of our seyd Fadir and from thens forward, the Coroune and the Roialme of France, wyth all thare Ryghtes and Appurtenauntz, shall Remeindre, and Abyde, and be of Us, and of our Heires for evermore.

Also, for alsmyche as our sayd Fadir is holden wyth divers sekenes, in such maner as he may not entend in his oune Persone for to dispose for the nedes of the forsayd Roialm of France, therefore, duryng the tyme of our sayd Fader, the Faculte and Exercice of Governance and Disposission of the Good Publique and Commune Proffit of the sayd Roialme of France, with the Counsaille of Nobles and Wise Men of the same Roialme, shall be and abide to Us; . . .

Also that we, to our Pouer, shall doo that the Court of the Parlement of France be keped and observed in his Auctoritee and Superioritee, and in all that is dewe to hyme, in all maner of Places that now, or in tyme to come, is, or shall be, suget to our sayd Fader.

Also, that we diligently and trewely, to our Pouer, shall Travaille, and do that, that Justice be administred and doon in the Roialme of France, after the Lawes, Custumes, and Ryghtes of the same Roialme, wythouten personell acception; . . .

Also that, we, to oure Pouer, and also sone as it may commodiously be doon, shall Travaille so to put into obedience of our sayd Fadir all maner of Citees, Townes, Castelles, Places, Countrees, and Persons, wythin the Roialme of France, Inobedient and Rebell to our sayd Fadir, holdyng the Partye, beying, or the which bene, of that Partye comonely called Dalphin or Ermynak. . . .

Also, that all maner of Conquestes, that shall be maad by Us in the Roialme of France opon the sayd Inobediencer, out of the Duchie of Normandie, shall be doon to the Proffit of our sayd Fadir; . . .

Also that all maner of Persones of Holy Chyrches, Beneficed in the Duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the Roialme of France, suget to us, obedient to our sayd Fadir, and faveryng the Partye of the Duke of Burgoyn, the whyche shall swere for to kepe this present Accord, shall Reioise peisible here Benefice of Holy Chirche in the Duchie of Normandie, and in the places aforsayd. . . .

Also, that nother oure sayd Fader ore We, nor our Brother the Duke of Burgoyne, shall begynne ne make with Charles, beryng hymself for the Dolphin of Viennes, any Trety of Peas or Accord, bot of the Counsaill and Assent of all and ych of us Three, of the Three Estates of ayther of the said Roialmes.

44.

[(*a*) The ratification of the treaty was followed by the marriage of Henry and Catherine on 2 June. J. J. des Ursins, "Histoire de Charles VI," 557. (Fr.).]

On 2 June the said King of England married the said Lady Catherine, and he willed that the ceremony should be carried out entirely according to the custom of France. They went to the parish church, that is to say to the church of S. John at Troyes, where they were married by Henry de Savoisy, soi-disant Archbishop of Sens. And instead of thirteen pence the king placed on the book thirteen nobles. And at the offertory, with the candle, everyone gave three nobles; and he also gave to the said church of S. John two hundred nobles; and afterwards there was a feast with wine in the accustomed manner and the blessing of the nuptial couch.

Afterwards a public proclamation was made that everyone should be ready, armed and equipped on the following day which was the third day of June. On this day the kings of France, England and Scotland, and the Duke of Burgundy left Troyes, with many other dukes and counts.

[(*b*) From Troyes Henry proceeded to lay siege to Sens. Letter from one present at the siege. Rymer, ix. 910; MS. Cott. Calig., D. 5.]

Worshipful Maistir, I recomand me to you.

And, as touchyng Tydynges, The Kyng oure Sovereyn Loord was weddid, with greet Solempnitee in the Cathedrale Chirche of Treys, abowte myd day on Trinite Sunday.

And, on the Tuysday suyng, he Remeved toward the Toun of Sens, xvi Leges thennes, havyng wyth hym thedir oure Queen and the Frensh Estatz.

And, on Wednysday thanne next suyng, was Sege leyd to that Toun, a greet Toun, and a notable, toward Bourgoyne ward, holden stronge with greet Nombre of Ermynakes.

The whiche Toun is worthily beseged; For ther ly at that Sege two Kynges, Queenes, iv Ducks, with my Loord of Bedeford whanne he cometh hedir; the whiche the xii day of the Monyth of Juyn, shall logge besyde Paris hedirward.

And at this seige also lyn many worthy Ladyes and Gentilwomen, bothe French and English; of the whiche many of hem begonne the Faitz of Armes long time agoon, but of lyyng at Seges now they begynne first. . . .

And forthermore wil the wit that Parys, with other, is swore to obeye to the Kyng oure Sovereyn Loord as Heritor and the Governour of France, and soo they doo.

And on Witsund Monday Final Peace was Proclamyd in Parys; and on Tuysday, the morrow after, was a solemnpe masse of oure Lady, and a solempne Procession of alle the greete and worthy men of Parys, thankyng God of the accord.

And now Englysh men goon into Parys, as ofte as they will, withowte ony saaf Conduyt, or any lettyng.

And in Parys, and alle othar Townes, that are turned from the Ermynakkes Party, make greet Joye and Myrthe every Halyday in Dauncyng and Karolyng. . . .

Written at the Sege of Sens the vi Day of Juyn in Haste.

Your owne Servant,

JOHAN OFORT

[(*c*) From Sens Henry proceeded to Montereau, which surrendered on July 1. From there he went to Melun, where he arrived on July 13. J. J. des Ursins, "Histoire de Charles VI," 558. (Fr.).]

From there the said kings proceeded to lay siege to Melun, where was the Sire de Barbazan, with many other knights and esquires, who had a great desire to hold out. . . . The English and Burgundians fortified their positions with palisades and trenches outside the town. Those inside made many sorties with much advantage to themselves and wrought much loss to the enemy, indeed they were a large and powerful band and at first they did not reveal their numbers so that those without thought they were but few in number: when the King of England saw how those inside were defending themselves (for this king is considered wise and valiant in matters of war) he saw that one was bound to say that "these are valiant people and not easily overcome".

There came to the siege (Aug.) a great lord of Germany, the Red Duke of Bavaria by name, who brought with him a large number of men, well-armed and equipped. He joined the forces of the Duke of Burgundy, and when he had looked upon the town, he marvelled that they did not make an assault upon it, seeing how it had been bombarded. He spoke of this matter to the Duke of Burgundy, who said that he himself had already suggested it, but the King of England was not of the same opinion. The Red Duke answered that he would speak to him and so he did. The King of England heard him with patience and courtesy, and recognised his affection and good-will, and showed him that the undertaking was dangerous and full of risk; but later he agreed to the plan, and ordered his men to get ready their arms and to procure ladders for the assault and faggots and bundles of small wood to fill up the trenches. . . . Those who kept watch on that side of the city, saw that they were collecting ladders and told the Sire de Barbazan . . . then he ordered forty or fifty cross-bowmen armed with good cross-bows, the best in the town, to be on the walls facing the Burgundians, and a certain number of the remaining soldiers together with a body of the townsfolk to pour down large stones and boiling fat whilst another body of the better-armed and most valiant of the defenders were to leave by a false postern, which opened out of the city towards the trench. He further forbad them to shoot or enter the trenches until a trumpet was sounded within the city. At last there came a day when the two Dukes, he of Burgundy and the Red Duke, cried "To the assault," and the trumpet sounded, and they leapt joyfully and confidently on to the edge of the trenches, threw down their ladders, and many of them proceeded to descend into them. . . . When the Burgundians and Germans saw how those within the city were acting, they realised the folly of their enterprise, and sounded the retreat.

[The siege continued until October.]

Those within the city were reduced to great distress and suffered from scarcity of food. . . . They had been a whole month without bread, and had only horse-flesh to eat, a food of little or no nourishment . . . those within were therefore forced to accept such terms as their enemies proposed. It was therefore decreed and arranged that they should escape with their lives, and without being forced to pay any ransom or fine. Those only were excepted from the terms who had consented to the death of John, the late Duke of Burgundy. . . . The city was thus surrendered and given up (17 Nov.).

[(*d*) After the capture of Melun, Henry made his state entry into Paris. "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris," Michaud et Poujoulat, "Mémoires," etc., xii. 665. (Fr.).]

(On Sunday, 1 December, the King of France, the King of England, the two Queens, the Duke of Burgundy, the Red Duke, and many other nobles) . . . entered Paris in great state, for the street of S. Denis by which they entered, was draped from the second gate as far as Notre Dame, and was a wonderful sight, and the greater number of the people of Paris who were in a position to do so were clad in red robes. . . . Never were princes received with greater joy than were these, for they met at every street processions of priests, robed in copes and surplices, singing Te Deum Laudamus or Benedictus qui venit; the entry (of the princes) was at five or six o'clock in the afternoon, and it was night when they returned to their churches. And this was all done so joyously and gladly, and the common people acted in similar manner, for nothing which was done to win the favour of the said lords was displeasing to them, yet most of them, especially the poorer people were suffering from lack of bread, for what had been formerly bought for 4d. in Parisian money then cost 40d., one setier of wheat 24 francs, of peas or good beans 20 francs.

45.

[Henry had been absent from England for three years and four months when Parliament met on 2 December, 1420. Rot. Parl., iv. 125. (Fr.).]

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The Commons request that it may please your gracious Lordship, with the good advice and assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal in this present Parliament, to petition, persuade, and prevail upon our sovereign Lord the King and the very gracious Lady the Queen his wife, to return and come to this realm as soon as it may please his Highness, to the comfort, relief, and support of the Commons aforesaid.

It pleases the Protector well, and he wishes it heartily.

46.

[On his return (2 Feb. 1421), Henry made a tour through England after the coronation of Catherine at Westminster on 23 February. "Chron. John Strecche," B.M. Add. MS. 35295, fo. 278. (Lat.).]

First the king made his way to Bristol, then to other towns in the southern and western parts of England. And on his way he turned aside to his beloved castle of Kenilworth, and then visited his manor of Pleasant Mareys, which he himself had built upon the marshes. And then he continued his journey to Coventry, and then came to Leicester, where he waited for a time for the arrival of the Queen. The Queen, after she had left Westminster, proceeded to Leicester by way of Hertford, Bedford, and Northampton, until she came to Leicester, where she joined the King on the eve of Palm Sunday, and in that city the King and Queen solemnly kept the feast of Easter in that year. At its conclusion, the King proceeded at once with his followers towards the north. First he went to the city of Nottingham, then to the town of Pontefract. After that he went to the city of York, then to Beverley, and so to the city of Lincoln, where at that time Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, was consecrated as bishop.

47.

[On leaving Beverley Henry heard the news of the disaster at Beaugé, and the death of the Duke of Clarence, whom Henry had left to carry on the war in Maine and Anjou. "Chron. J. Hardyng," 384.]

And at the Easter[1] then in his xv.[2] yere,
The Duke of Clarence thenemies had espy'ed,
At Baugy then for whiche his menne in fere
He sembled and thyther faste he hyed,

. . . .

And nere at Bawge came Gylberte Umfreuyle,
Marshal of Fraunce, with v. horse and no mo,
And of good wyt counsayled him that whyle
To keep the churche and Goddes seruyce tho,
And after the feaste to seke upon his foo;
And he aunswered hym, "Yf thou be aferd,
Go home thy waye and kepe the churche yerde.

. . . .

So rode they furth ay chidyng by the waye,
Tyll they to Bawgy ouer the bridge were gone,
Where the enemyes were batayled in araye,

[1] 23 Mar. [2] ninth.

Where then they light and faught with them anon;
The duke was slayne that day there with his soone,

. . . .

Thenglishe power came when all was done,
And rescowed then the deed men where they laye

. . . .

And buryed them in Englande in good araye,
Echeone in his owne abbaye or colage,
Afore founded within his herytage.

48.

[Parliament met on 2 May, 1421, and ratified the Treaty of Troyes. Rot. Parl., iv. 135. (Lat.).]

On the second day of May, in the ninth year of his reign, our Lord the King summoned the said Three Estates, that is to say, the prelates and clergy, nobles and magnates, as well as the commons of the said realm, to his palace of Westminster at London, according to use and custom, for the further ratification and conclusion of the treaty aforesaid, both on account of divers reasons connected with his estate and realm, and for its usefulness to the said realm; in the presence of these Three Estates, his Highness our Lord the King, caused the tenor of the said treaty and all and each of its articles, to be solemnly explained and declared in detail by the venerable Father in God, Thomas, by the grace of God, Bishop of Durham, his Chancellor. Furthermore, our Lord the King commanded his Chancellor, that the said Three Estates should inspect and peruse the articles of the said treaty: when this had been diligently and carefully done, the Three Estates considering, concluding, and being of opinion, that the said treaty was praiseworthy and necessary and useful to both realms and their subjects, and even to all Christendom, approved, praised, authorised, and accepted the treaty and all and every one of the articles of it, according to the command of our Lord the King, as it appears, promised as much as in all and each of them lay for themselves and for their heirs and successors, that their words should be observed and carried out well and faithfully, forever.

49.

[The Earl of Salisbury on the death of Clarence, took the command in Normandy and on 21 May, 1421, sent a report of the English position to the King. B.M. MS. Cott. Vespasian, F. xiii. Art. 46.]

My most hy and sovrein lord I yor humble liege man recomande me to yor hy and noble grace as lowly as I can or may and yif hit like yor hinesse to wite of tidinges from yor lond here blessed mot God be al yor said land stod in good plit at the writing of this and as of yor enemyes I kan here of no sturinge that they make as yet but that woch was at Mount Saint Michell the woche made but esy sturing in to yor land ward blessed be god as yit ffurther more my most hy and sovrein lord I dowe biseche lowly to your hynesse that ye vochedsauf to lete me wit yif hit were yor lust that I shold awayte on my lord of Bedforde in any thing, woche ye have yeve him in charge to do weroffe I wolde be right glad and hit were yor wille for the tidinges is here redily that he is come and yif hit were yor likinge that he stured hederward he myghte not faile with goddes grace to do mochal good an yor enemyes the woche as I here said aren gretely abaised of his comyng blessed be god my most hy and sovrein lord I write no more to yor hynesse at this time but that I beseche almyghty god that he save kepe and spede yor hy and noble parson in as gret wele joie and worship as evre hit myghte best be thoghgt or demised. Write at Eymes (Exmes) the xxi day of May.

Yor humble lige man therl of Salisbury.

[In dorso.] To my most hy and sovrein lord.

50.

[(*a*) As a result of the defeat at Beaugé, Henry prepared once more to cross to France and left Dover on 10 June, 1421. "Mémoires de Pierre de Fénin," Michaud et Poujoulat, "Mémoires," etc., xii. 608. (Fr.).]

When the news of the death of his son, the Duke, and of his other princes, was brought to King Henry, he was much disturbed and sent forth a fresh summons to return to France, and he arrived there about the time of the feast of S. John the Baptist,[1] 1421. With a great number of men he landed at Calais and from there he rode to Montreuil and then to S. Riquier. . . . Afterwards, King Henry went to Abbeville, and from there to Rouen, and so to Vernon in the county of Perche. And he was desirous of fighting the Dauphin, who was in the neighbourhood of Chartres with a large following, but he never advanced towards him. . . .

Shortly after the King arrived at Vernon in order to fight the Dauphin, he informed Duke Philip of Burgundy, and Duke Philip collected as many men as he could, and rode to Amiens and from thence to Beauvais and so to Vernon. And he lodged at a large village called Magni, and afterwards joined King Henry. And when he arrived, they heard that the Dauphin and his followers had retreated in the direction of Tours in Touraine. And when King Henry heard that he would not meet him in battle, he ordered Duke Philip to withdraw to defend his own country, and Duke Philip returned at once to Beauvais, and from there went to lodge at Croissy.

[(*b*) Henry besieged Dreux, which surrendered on 20 August. From there he proceeded to Meaux. "Chronique du Réligieux de S. Denys," vi. 448. (Lat.).]

The King of England besieged the town, city, and market place of Meaux. But the inhabitants resisted the King and his army with energy and courage, and held the town against him for seven months. At this siege, many of the English died from natural causes, or were killed and wounded in the assaults and combats which took place. . . . The captain of Meaux was a nobleman named Guichard de Chessay, as brave in action as wise in the council-chamber; he was supported by many powerful noblemen of fame, all experienced warriors. But since they were too small a band to hold out against the huge multitude of the English, Charles, regent of France, sent to their help, to compensate for this disadvantage, after serious consideration of the matter by his council, the Sire d'Offrement with a goodly number of soldiers. This reinforcement tried in vain to enter the town. The English barred the way and fell upon them; both sides fought valiantly, and the Sire d'Offrement was captured with many of his followers. The Frenchmen within the town, seeing that they were reduced to extremities withdrew to the market place, which was separated from the main town, and left the town to the English. . . . After the capture of the town, the English entered the mills which were, as one might say, adjacent to the market and the bridge. There the Earl of Worcester was slain by a stone hurled from the market-place, and killed instantaneously. The English and French also met in battle in the open country; the English were all killed or captured, with the exception of one, who escaped death for the moment by the rapidity of his flight. . . . The market-place of Meaux at last surrendered, and fell into the hands of the English as the town had done. The lives of some Frenchmen were saved, others were punished by death, the rest taken to England or to other parts of the kingdom and imprisoned. All the goods both of the town and of the market-place were looted by the said King of England and distributed according to his pleasure. Finally, the Sire Louis de Gast, a knight-captain of the said town, and Jean de Rouves, a lawyer, were taken by water to Paris and there publicly beheaded in the market-place.

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[1] 24 June.

51.

[Death of Henry V. (*a*) "London Chronicle, 1421-30"; Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 295.]

Kynge H. beinge sicke made his testament, apoynted his treasure and jewells to be solde, his dettes to be payde, as well to the pleasaunce of his souldiours as to othar that he owght good vnto in Englond, and on Fraunce, and ordeyned John his brothar, Duke of Bedforde to be theyr regent and governor of Fraunce and Normandy; and he comitted the kepinge of H. his yonge sonne and prynce to Sir Henry Beaufort, byshope of Winchester, and to Sir Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Excestar.

[(*b*) B.M. Add. MS. 34764, fo. 7. English Chronicle written in 1440.]

In the xx yere of his reyne, died this worthi king at Boys in Vincent the last day of August save one. Whos body is entired and toumbet in Englond at Westminster, and the same yere at Seint Nicoles day preceding was borne oure gracious king Harri his son. In whos nativite rongen al the belles in London, and where eny singers weren in eny chirch, ye Maier of London commaunded hem to sing Te Deum Laudamus. And aftir this worthi prince the noble king, thus decessed the last day of August, this noble king Harri the sixt began to reyne. In whos xviii yere this short trety was ended.

[(*c*) Funeral of Henry V. "Cal. Letter Book K," 2.]

The Provision made by William Walderne, the Mayor, and the aldermen, for the reception of the corpse of the most illustrious and victorious Prince, the Lord Henry V, late King of England . . . the Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, Aldermen and Officers, and the more sufficient persons of the whole city shall proceed on foot as far as S. George's Bar, clothed in black vestments, together with 300 torches, borne by 300 persons clothed in white gowns and hoods, and there reverently salute the corpse, following it the first day as far as

S. Paul's Church, where the funeral obsequies take place, and the second day to Westminster . . . throughout the street(s) . . . shall stand on either side men . . . with lighted torches and the chaplains of the Churches and chapels . . . shall stand at the doors of the Churches, habited in their richest vestments, and bearing in their hands censers of gold and silver, whilst they solemnly chant the *venite*, and incense the corpse as it passes.

52.

[Gloucester was commissioned to open Parliament and given the title of Protector of the Realm and King's Chief Councillor, but refused that of Regent. Rot. Parl., iv. 169. (Lat.).]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall go, greeting. Know ye, that by the advice of our council, . . . we have ordained that our Parliament shall be held at Westminster, on the Monday next before the Feast of S. Martin[1] next coming, and since for various reasons, we ourselves cannot be present at the said Parliament, and since we have trustworthy reports of the discretion and labours of our dearest uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, we give full power, by the tenor of these presents, to the same Uncle, to open the said Parliament in our name and to proceed in it, and to do all and everything which it there belongs to us to do, on our behalf, and for the good rule and governance of our realm aforesaid and of other of our Lords in the same realm; and also to terminate and dissolve the Parliament with the consent of our council.

53.

[(*a*) Bedford remained in France to carry on the war. A treaty between England, Burgundy, and Brittany was signed at Amiens on 17 April, 1423. Rymer, x. 280. (Fr.).]

John Regent of the realm of France, Duke of Bedford and Philip Duke of Burgundy and John Duke of Brittany, to all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that for the great friendship and nearness of relationship which now exists between us owing to the marriages made and concluded between us, John, Duke of Bedford, Regent, and our very dear and well-beloved sister and cousin, Anne of Burgundy, for the one part, and between our very dear and well-beloved brother Arthur, Duke of Brittany, Count of Montfort and Diury, and our very dear and well-beloved sister and cousin Margaret of Burgundy for the other part, and for the general welfare of our Lord the King and of his realm of France and England and of us and our lordships, lands, countries, and subjects, we, and each of us swear and promise to be and to remain, as long as we shall live, in a state of good and true affection, fraternity, and unity, one with the other . . . and if we, or anyone of us, shall require or need, for the maintenance and defence of our honour or of our countries, lands, or lordships, against the attacks of others who wish to molest or injure us, we and each of us shall be bound to assist and aid that one of us who is in need, and shall demand it of us, with a hundred men at arms or archers as shall most please him who is in need.

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[1] 11 Nov.

[(*b*) On the following day, however, a secret treaty was made between Burgundy and Brittany, in which they agreed to remain friends in the event of a reconciliation with the Dauphin. Plancher, "Histoire de Bourgogne," iv., Preuves, xxvii. (Fr.).]

Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and John, Duke of Brittany, to all who shall hear and see those present letters, greeting. Know ye that we and each of us have promised and undertaken, and do promise and undertake in all good faith, one to the other, that is to say we the Duke of Burgundy to the Duke of Brittany our brother, that if it shall happen that for the honour and reverence of God, and out of pity and compassion for the people, we shall make any treaty, alliance, or effect a reconciliation, with Charles, the Dauphin of Vienne, on account of the death of our very redoubt Lord and Father, the Duke of Burgundy lately dead, whom God absolve, we shall not consider that this will in any way cause a breach of the alliances and treaties, made between the said Duke of Brittany our brother and us.

[A similar document was drawn up on the part of the Duke of Brittany.]

54.

[The war was resumed, and the first English victory of importance occurred at Crevant on 31 July, 1423. Wavrin, "Croniques," R.S., iii. 63; Eng. version, 43.]

(The English and Burgundians) put themselves in very fair array and took their way towards Crevant to fight their enemies, who were sufficiently warned of their coming and could also well see them approach from a distance.

Then by command of the captains, when the English and Burgundians had come within about a quarter of a league of their enemies, they all lighted down on foot; now that day was very hot, wherefore they were greatly fatigued with marching on foot, both on account of the weight of their armour and by the unclouded heat of the sun, so that many were constrained by distress from the heat to lie down with their faces to the ground to rest themselves a little. . . .

[*Ibid.*, 66 and 45.]

(They found the French) all prepared to receive them in a fair and large company, and they had taken their position upon a hill before the said town of Crevant. . . . The English and Burgundians, seeing the preparations of their enemies, went on to cross to the other side of the river Yonne towards Coulange la Vineuse and then the French descended from the hill against their enemies, making a great show of boldness. So they set themselves in battle array one against the other, and there remained full three hours without doing anything else; and the river was between the two armies. When they had so remained, as you have heard, the English and Burgundians, who much hated the French, seeing that they made no show of attacking them, advanced suddenly with the ardour of rash courage, and archers began to shout all together, and men-at-arms to go with alacrity into the water to rush upon their enemies, some of whom had it up to their knees and others above the girdle. Then the Earl of Salisbury, admonishing his men to do well, with the cry of "Saint George!" and with his banner before him, crossed the water and went to attack his enemies. . . . Then those in the city of Crevant, that is to say, the lord of Chastelus, and others of the garrison of which he was the head, seeing their succours acting so skilfully, sallied out, very joyfully and with great courage, and fell upon their enemies in the rear, although they were so enfeebled and broken down with famine that they had great difficulty to keep upon their feet. . . . Then on all sides, they began to fight one against the other, but in conclusion, by the vigour, strength, and valour of the English and Burgundians, thus fraternally associated together, they obtained the victory, and the French and Scotch were at that time turned to flight, in which many were killed and wounded, which was a pitiable thing to see.

55.

[The successes throughout 1423 and 1424 were mainly on the side of the English, and on 17 August, 1424, a severe defeat was inflicted on the French at Verneuil. "Brut," E.E.T.S., 564-6.]

In the second yere of the reyne of Kyng Henry the vj^{te} abovesaid, John Duyk of Bedford and Regent of Fraunce, & the Erle of Salisbery; Mountegu, the Erle of Arundell, the Lord Scales, the Lord Poynynges, with the nombre of xijM^{l} of Englisshe men, laid seege to Ivory in Normaundy. And whiles they lay att that seege, the Duyk of Launson gadert a gret host of Frensshmen, and Scottes and lumbardes, the nombre of liiM^{l}, to rescowe Ivory, and to give bataile to the said Duyke of Bedford. But when they herd that the Duyk of Bedforde had with hym xiiM^{l} men, thay lafte Ivory, and come to Vernill in Perche, which was that tyme in the handes of Englisshe-men. . . . Then the Frensshe men chargit the Englisshe men to delyver the toun of Vernill vp to hem, And the said Duyke of Bedforde and all his power were overthrawe and slayn before Ivory. And they of the toun of Vernill wend it had been trewe, And gave vp the toune to the Frenshmen. And thus by this trayn, Vernill was lost, unknowyng of the Duyke of Bedford and the lordes which lay att the said seege of Ivory; nevertheles at last it was yolden vp to hem. Then iiiM^1 men toke theire leve of the Duyk of Bedford and Regent of Fraunce, and departet from thens hom to their garisons. And they were not passet thens xij lekes, but tithynges come to the Duyk how the Frensshe had geten Vernyll and were therin. Wherfore he onon with the Erle of Salesbery, Mountegu, the Erle of Arundell, the Lord Scalis, and the Lord Poynynges, with ixM^1 Englisshe men retournet to Vernyll, and toke thair feld a myle from the toune, to gyve the Frensshe men bataile; but the Frensshe men nor the Scottes wold not beleve that the English men wold feight with hem, for they had redy knowlege that iiiM^1 men were gon hom to their garisons, and they were but ixM^1 men, and they were lijM^1: notwithstondyng a day of batail was sett. Then oure Englisshe men pichet theire stakes; and on the day of batail when thei shuld feight, they knelit doune and kissit the ground; and then the Duyke of Bedford bade "avaunt baner"! And so they Joynet to-gedris and faughte; and the Duyk of Bedford faught that day manfully with his oune hondis. And whilis they were besy feightyng, the Lumbardes of the Frensshe host comen behynde the batail of the Englisshe men, and slowe their pages, and went away with thaire horses. And on Yong, an Englisshe Capteyn fledde away with v^1 men in his felisshipe, and told how Englisshe men had lost the feld; which was aftir taken, and was hanget, drawe and quartert, as he was wele wurthy; for God fortunet so, that the Duyke of Bedford had the victory and the felde of his enmyse, and put the Frensshe men to the flight, and chasit hem to the toune dikes of Vernyll, where-as many of hem were drownet. And when they retournet agayn to the bataile, they fand the Scottes feghtyng still with the Erle of Salisbery whiles thei were folowyng the chase of the Frensshe men. And so then onon the Scottes were all discomfit and slayne, the Englissh men cryynge "A Clarens, A clarans!" for cause the Scottes before that tyme [ferede] the Duyk of Clarans. . . .

And when this bataile was don and the Englissh men had the victory, they lovid and thanket God gretely of his grace, And forthwith went to the toun of Vernyll, which was onon deliuert vpe to hem, and had alle the stuff that the Frensshmen ther-in-hade. And then went the Duyke of Bedford and Regent of Fraunce peasably to Roon, thankyng God of that victoriose battaile.

56.

[The English and Burgundian alliance had been imperilled by the marriage of Gloucester with the Duchess of Hainault, against the wishes of Burgundy, early in 1423. The breach was further widened by Gloucester's attempt in October, 1424, to regain Hainault from his wife's former husband, the Duke of Brabant an ally of Burgundy. Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 113.]

This same yere the duke of Gloucestre with hys wyf the duchesse of Holand wenten over the see into Henauude, for to taken possession of hys wyfve's herytage, where he was worschipfully receyved and taken for chif lord of the lond: but not longe after it happed so that he was fayn to retorne hom ageyn, and lefte hys lady behynde hym with all the tresour that he broughte thedyr, in a town that men callen Mouns in Henauude, the whiche was swore to hym to ben good and trewe, and to kepe the lady in sauf warde tyl he come ageyn: but at the laste they that weren in the forseid town becomen fals, and delyvered that worthy lady to the duke of Burgoyn; and he sent here to Gaunt there to ben kept, but as God wolde for here, withinne a schort tyme thens sche ascaped awey in a mannes wede, and com to a town of hire owne in Seland[1] that is clepyd Sirixe,[2] and fro thens into Holand that is called Tirgowe,[3] where with helpe of here

[1] Zealand.

[2] Zierikzee.

[3] Gouda.

frendes that were there, sche withstood the duke of Burgoyne and al his malyce.

57.

[Gloucester's foreign policy did not increase his popularity with the Council in England, the Bishop of Winchester being the chief of those who showed their disapproval. (*a*) Disturbances in London were the first sign of the impending quarrel. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 159.]

And that same yere [1425] that the mayre rode to Westmyster on the same daye for to take hys othe, that ys, was the xxix daye of Septembyr,[1] whenne that he come home to hys mete with hys aldyrmen and with hys goode comyners, or that they hadde fully etc. the Duke of Glouceter sende for the mayre and hys aldyrmen that they shulde come speke with hym; and whenne they come he cargyd the mayre that he shulde kepe well the cytte that nyght and make goode wache; and so there was, alle that nyghte, for my Lorde of Glouceter and the Byschoppe of Wynchester were not goode frendys as in that tyme. And on the morowe certayne men kepte the gatys of the brygge of London by the commaundement of the Lorde of Glouceter, and of the mayre. And by-twene ix. and x. of the belle ther come certayne men of the Byschoppys of Wynchester and drewe the chaynys of the stulpys[2] at the brygge end in Southeworke ys syde, the whiche were bothe knyghts and squyers, with a grete mayny of archerys, and they embaytaylyd them, and made defens of wyndowys and pypys as hyt hadde bene in the londe of warre, as thowe they wolde have fought agayne the kyngys pepylle and brekyng of the pes. And thenne the pepylle of the cytte hyrde there of, and they in haste schytte in ther shoppys and come doune to the gatys of the brygge in kepyng of the cytte ande savacyon of the cytte a-gayns the kyngys enmys, for alle the shoppys in London were schytte in one howr. And thenne come my Lorde of Cauntyrbury ande the Prynce of Portynggale and tretyd by twyne my Lorde of

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[1] October.

[2] Posts.

Glouceter and the Byschoppe of Wynchester, for they rode viii tymes by twyne the duke and the byschoppe that day. And thonkyd be God, thoroughe goode governaunce of the mayre and hys aldyrmen, alle the pepylle was sessyde and wentte home ayenne every mann, and none harme done thorough ealle the cytte, thonkyd be God.

[(*b*) Bedford was consequently summoned to England and reached London on 10 January, 1426. Parliament was summoned to meet at Leicester on 18 February to settle the quarrel. *Ibid.*, 160.]

And the xxv day of Marche next aftyr be-ganne the Parlyment at Layceter, and that induryd unto the fyrste day of June, and every man was warnyd and i-cryde thoroughe the toune that they shulde leve hyr wepyn yn hyr ynnys, that ys to saye, hyr swerdys and bokelers, bowys and arowys. And thenne the pepylle toke grete battys in hyr neckys and so they wentte. The nexte day they were chargyde that they shulde leve hyr battys at hyr ynnys, and thenne they toke grete stoneys yn hyr bosomys and hyr slyvys, and so they wentte to the Parlyment with hyr lordys. Ande thys Parlyment sum men callyd the Parlyment of Battys.

[(*c*) The charges brought against Beaufort by Gloucester. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 76.]

Ffirst as ther he beyng Protectour and Defendour off this londe desireth the Toure off London to be opned vnto hym and to logge hym ther Inne, Rich. Wodeville, squyer havyng that tyme the charge off the kepyng off the seyde Toure, refused hym his desire; . . . by the commandement off my seyde lorde off Wynchestre. . . .

Also my seyde lorde of Wynchestre . . . proposed and disposed him to sette hande on the kyngis persone and to Remeve hym ffrom Eltham the place that he was Inne, to thentent to putte him in suche governaunce as him lust. . . .

Also . . . my seyde lord off Wynchestre ffauorably and ayens the kyngis pees to thentent to distourbe my seyde lorde off Gloucestre goyng to the kyng, purposyng his deeth in caas that he hadde kome that way, sette men off Armes and Archers at the ende off London brigge next Sothewerke. . . .

Also . . . kyng Herry the v^{te}, told hym that at a tyme when oure souereyne lorde beynge prince was logged in the paleys of Westm' in the Grene chambre, be the Rees[1] off A Spanyell, ther was on a nyht aspyed and takyn be hynde a Tapett off the same chambre a man . . . there by the excitation and procurynge off my seyde lorde off Wynchestre, ordeyned to have slayne the seyde prince ther in his bedde. . . .

Also . . . kyng Herry the v^{te}, seyde . . . that, his ffadir kyng Herry the iiij^{te} levyng and visited gretly thann with sekenesse off the sonde[2] of god, my seyde lorde off Wynchestre seyde vnto kyng Herry the v^{te}, beyng thanne prince, that the kyng his ffadir so visited with sekenesse was not personable and therto not dysposed to comone conuersation and gouernance off the peple, and ffor so much conceyllyd him to take the governance and crovne off this londe vpon him.

[These charges were answered in detail by Beaufort. *Ibid.*, 78 *et seq.*]

[(*d*) Attempted reconciliation of Gloucester and Beaufort. The Commons request that the arbitrators will take an oath that they will proceed truly and justly. Rot. Parl., iv. 297.]

To yat it be knowen to all folkys, yat hit is yentent of my Lord of Bed' and of all ye Lordes Spirituell and Temporell assembled in this present Parlement, to acquite hem, and to proceded treuly, justly and indifferently, with oute any parcialte, in all manere of materes and quereles moeved or to be moeved, bitwix my Lord of Gloucestre on yat oon part and my Lord of Wynchestre, Chaunceller of Englond on yat othyr parte: and for sure kepyng of ye Kings pees, hit is accorded by my said Lord of Bedford, and my said Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, an oothe to be made in ye fourme yat folweth: yat is to say, . . .

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[1] onset.

[2] honde (hand).

[Oath of loyalty follows.

A Commission was appointed consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dukes of Exeter and Norfolk, Bishops of Durham, Worcester, Bath, Earl of Stafford, Wm. Alnewyk, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Rauf Cromwell, to arbitrate in the matter. Gloucester and Beaufort agreed to accept the arbitration of the Commission. The award of the Commission.]

The said causes materes and quereles, by us seen, hard, and diligently examyned; decree and by yassent of ye said parties, ordeyne and award, may my said Lordes of Gloucestre and of Wynchestre, for eny ying doon or spoken by yat oon part, ayens yat othyr, or by yaires or any othyr persone or persones, afor ye VII day of yis present moneth of Marche, nevere hereafter tak cause, querele displesaunce, nor hevynesse, yat oon ayens yat othyr, ne nevere ayenst ye counselers, Adherentes or Favourers of yat othyr; but for all yees yings and yaim not withstondyng, my said Lord of Glouc' be good Lord to my said Lord of Winchestre and have him in love and affection as his kinsman and Uncle. And my said Lord of Winchestre, have toward my said Lord of Glouc' trewe and sad love and affection; do and be redy to do hym, suche service as pertienneth of honeste to my said Lord of Winchestre, and to his estat to do.

[Beaufort's declaration.]

My Lord of Gloucestre, I have conceyved to my grete hevynesse, yat ye shuld have received be diverse reportes, yat I shuld have purposed and ymagined ayenst your persone, honour and estate, in diverse maneres, for ye whiche ye have taken ayenst me grete desplesaunce; Sir, I take God to witnesse, yat what reportes for evere have be made unto yowe of me, peraventure by suche as have not had grete affection unto me, God foryeve hem; I nevere ymagined nor purposed ying yat myght be hyndryng or prejudice to youre persone, honour or estat: and for so muche I pray yowe yat ye woll be unto me good Lord fro yis tyme forth, for by my Wyll I yave you never othyr occasion nor purpose not to do herafter yourgh Godds grace.

[Gloucester's answer.]

Beal uncle, sithen ye so declare you such a man as ye say, I am right glad yat hat is so, and for suche I tak yowe.

[Continuation of the award.]

Also we awarde, ordeine, and decree, yat in token an proef of full and sad love and affection, to be had and kept bytwix my said Lords of Glouc' and of Wynchestr', in matere above said, eche of hem take othyr by the honde.

58.

[(*a*) Before Bedford's return to France, the Chancellor desired to know in what relation the council stood to him and to Gloucester. Minutes of the Council, 28 January, 427 ; Nicolas, "Proc.," iii. 238.]

My saide lorde the Chanceller reherced that how be it, that as greet auctorite of governaille is now in oure saide soverein lorde persone duryng his saide tendre eage as evere shal be here after whan he shal come with Goddes myght to yeers of discrecion, considering that in his persone he may not yit do execucion, neverthelesse thexecucion therof stondethe as now in his lordes assembled, either by auctorite of his parlement or in his consail and in especiale in the lordes of his consail the whiche lordes of his consail by liklynesse mowe be called here after to answere how thei have governed and executed the saide auctorite now beyng in the persone of oure saide soveraine lorde execucion of the whiche auctorite resteth not in oon singuler persone but in alle my saide lordes togidres except thauctorite yeven to you my lorde as by auctorite of parlement protector of this reaume, and in youre absence ye beyng out of this roiaume, unto my lorde your brother of Gloucester after theffect of an act thereon maade. . . . The dangier and perils that my saide lordes and I felen that we standen in if we do not oure devoir have caused us boldnesse to sende for you my lord at this tyme . . . not doubtyng as in you in eny wise but that ye be he that evere wol as ye have be at alle tymes hidertowardes in al thing that may touche oure said soverain lord or his lawes be ruled and demesned as my said lordes of the counsaill wol advertise and advise you and noon otherwyse as perforth as reson and the Kinges lawes of this his land desiren.

[(*b*) Bedford thereupon promised that he would act by the advice of the council. *Ibid.*, 240.]

(My lord of Bedford) promitted forthwith in the most herty manere that he myght as it semed in al thing that might touche the profit and weel of the Kyng and his saide roiaumes and lordshipps to be rewled and governed lyke as my saide lordes wolde conseille hym and advise hym and so gentilly and lowely submitted hym to theire governance and so prayed hem to take hym, and if thaim thought there were eny thing in whiche he erred or myght erre at eny tyme hereafter he besought hem to lat hym have knowleche therof and trewely he seide it shulde be sone amended after their advises and consaille. . . .

Thees wordes and many other gentill wordes my said lorde of Bedforde seide there so benyngly ande goodely that for verray herty affeccion and trouthe the teres spronge aswel out of his eyghen as out of theighen of alle my saide lordes that were there present and herd hym.

[Gloucester did not make the same promise without some protest. Finally, however, he consented to make it. *Ibid.*, 241.]

My saide lorde of Gloucester saying and answeryng as he hadde doone at divers tymes afore that is to say, if he hadde doone eny thing that touched the King his soverain lordes estat, therof wolde he not answere unto no persone on lyve, save oonly unto the King whan he come to his eage. And also such wordes. "Lat my brother governe as hym lust whiles he is in this lande for after his going ovre into Fraunce I wol governe as me semethe goode."

59.

[The Duke of Exeter, the first Governor appointed for the King, died in December, 1426, and was succeeded by the Earl of Warwick. Minutes of the Council, 1 June, 1428. Nicolas, "Proc.," iii. 299.]

As toward the charge auctorite and power to be committed to therle of Warr' that is appointed to be aboute the Kynges persone.

Furst the seide Erle shal do his trewe devoir to the seuertee of the Kynges persone.

Item he shal have the nurture of the Kynges persone, in the whiche it is thought furst and afore al thyng necessarie that the seide Erle do his devoir and diligence to exhorte sture and lerne the Kyng to love worshippe and drede Godde and generally norysshe hym and drawe to vertues and to eschewyng of vices by weyes and menes convenable suche as his eage shal mow lykly comprehende leiyng before hym mirrours and examples of tymes passed of the goode grace and ure prosperite and wele that have fallen to vertuous Kynges and to here landes and subgittes of that oo part and of the contrair fortune that hathe ensued to Kynges and to here landes and subgittes of the contrarie disposicion on that other part.

Item over that the seide Erle shall do his devoir and diligence to teche the Kynge and make hym to be taught nurture lettrure langage and other manere of cunnyng as his age shal suffre hym to mow comprehende suche as it fitteth so greet a prince to be lerned of.

Item the seide Erle shal have auctorite and power to chastise the Kyng after his goode avis and discrecion whan the Kyng trespasseth or dothe amys on that oo behalve or strangethe hym to lerne or to do that the seide Erle shal bidden hym do on that other behalve.

60.

[Bedford returned to France in March, 1427, leaving Gloucester supreme in England. The Parliament which met on 13 October was opened by the King, and Gloucester demanded a definition of his powers, a demand which he repeated on 3 March, 1428, at the reassembling of Parliament after adjournment for Christmas. Answer of the Lords to his demand. Rot. Parl., iv. 326.]

We Lords above saide call to mynde, howe yat in ye first Parlement halden by ye Kyng oure soverain Lord yat nowe is, at Westminster, ye desired to have had ye governaunce of yis land, affermyng yat hit belonged unto you of rygzt, as wel be ye mene of your birth, as by ye late wylle of ye Kyng yat was, youre Brothyr, whome God assoille, alleggyng for you such groundes, and motyves as it was yought to your discretion maad for your entent; Whereuppon ye Lordes spirituel and temporel assembled yo in Parlement, among ye which were yo my Lordes your Uncles, ye Bysshop of Winchestre yat now lyveth, and ye Duc of Excetre, and your Cousyn, Yerle of March yat be goon to God, and of Warrewyk, and othyr in gret nombre yat nowe yven, had grete and long deliberation and advis, serched precydentes of the governaill of ye land in tyme and case semblable, whan Kynges of yis land have be tendre of age, toke also information of ye lawes of ye land, of soche persones as be notably lerned yerynne, and finally fond youre saide desire nought caused nor grounded in precident, nor in ye lawe of ye land; ye whiche ye Kyng yat ded ys, in his lyf ne migzt by his last will nor otherwyse altre, change nor abroge, with oute yassent of ye thre Estates, nor committe or graunte to any persone, governaunce or rule of yis land lenger yanne he lived: but on yat othyr behalf, ye said Lordes fond your saide desire not accordyng with the lawes of yis land, and ayenst ye rigzt and fredome of yestates of ye same land. . . .

We merveillyng with all oure hertes yat consideryng ye open declaration of yauctorite and pouoir belanging to my Lord of Bed', and to you in his absence, and also to the Kynges Counseill, subscribed pureli and simply by my said Lord of Bedford and by you, yat ye shuld in any wyse be steryd or moeved nought to contente you yerwith, oyer to pretende you any oyer.

61.

[The war in France. (*a*) Salisbury had been in England in 1428 collecting reinforcements for continuing the war in France. He left England on 19 July and on 5 September addressed the following letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London. From "Letter Book K," fo. 55b; R. R. Sharpe, "London and the Kingdom," iii. 370.]

Right trusty & entierly welbeloved frendes we grete you hertely wel. . . . We do yow to witte that the vure and spede seth our last comyng in to this lande hath be so good that I am ever behold to thanke god besechyng hym to continue hit for his mercye and after the brynnyng of many diverse tounes castelles and Forteresses we laied siege afor this toune of Yenville and after diversez aprochemenes made therto as was on sonneday sevenyght which was the xxix day of August we gate the saide toune of Yenville be the most notable assault that evere we sawe. . . . And so thanked be god ther comyth in dayly places to thobbeissaunce to the Recovering of which we thenke to do all diligence as we behold with out sparyng of labour or pein. . . . Writen at Yenville the v̇ day of septembre.

Item we do you to wite that seth the wryting of this we have had tydinges from our brother Sire Richard Hankeford . . . that he hath goten the sayd toune (Meun sur Loyre) castel and peuple yolden to thobbeissaunce and oure soverein lord. . . . And to the sayd toune is a faire brigge overe the Gret River of Leyre which ys bot v leges oute of the cite of Orliens.

[(*b*) Salisbury then determined to attack Orleans. The siege began on 12 October, 1428, and the situation appeared hopeless for the French, when in April, 1429, a relieving force, with which was Joan of Arc, advanced towards the town. On 8 May the English army withdrew and the siege was raised. Wavrin, "Croniques," R.S., iii. 261-265 ; Eng. version, 165-167.]

In that year (1428), the siege being before Orleans, there came to King Charles of France, at Chinon, a young girl who described herself as a maid of twenty years of age or thereabout named Joan, who was clothed and habited in the guise of a man, born in the parts between Burgundy and Lorraine at a town named Domremy very near Vaucoulleur. . . . She made request that they would give her a suit of armour to arm herself, which was delivered to her ; then with her standard raised, as has been said, she went to Blois where the muster was being made, and thence to Orleans with the others ; and she was always armed in complete armour, and in this same journey many men-at-arms placed themselves under her.

When the said maid had come into the city of Orleans, they gave her a good reception, and some were greatly rejoiced at seeing her in their company.

[(*c*) Nicolas, " Chron. of London," 116.]

This same yere, the iij day of Novembre, deyed the worshipfull Sire Thomas de Mountagu erle of Salisbury before Orlyons, thorugh schetyng of a gonne as he lay at the sege before the forseid cite ; God have mercy on his sowle. Forthermore duryng that sege, at the begynnyng of Lenten neste folwynge (12 February, 1429), vii m of Frensshmen and mo with many a Scot fel upon oure men as they wente thiderward with vitailes be sydes a town that is called Yamvyll, where S^r. John Styward and his brother with mo thin vij^c Scottes that thei were governours of, lighten a fote, and were sclayn every modir sone be S^r. John Fastolf, S^r. Thomas Rempston, and othere capitayns of oure syde, the whiche hade nought passyng v^c fytynge men with them at all withoughte chartres;[1] but Charles of Burbon and the bastard of Orlions, with alle the Frensshmen sittynge on horsbak seynge the governaunce, trussed them and wente away. Also a lytel before Witsonday nest folwynge, was the forsayd sege broken up be the duke of Launson and his power; and alle oure lordes and capitayns of the same sege disparpled,[2] that is to say the erle of Suffolk and his brother, the lord Talbot, and the lord Scales with many mo, the whiche sone after were taken everych on at myschief.

62.

[Beaufort left England in 1427 to visit Bohemia. On his return he was given permission to raise a force for a crusade against the Bohemian heretics. News of English disasters in France, however, necessitated his lending the promised force to Bedford. Minutes of the Council, 1 July, 1429; Nicolas, "Proc.," iii. 339; Rymer, x. 424.]

Here ensuen tharticles of thappointment maad and accorded at Rouchester the furst day of Juyll betwix the King by thadvis of his conseil on that oo partie, and my lorde his cousin the Cardinal etc. on that other partie.

Furst howe be it that the King by thadvis of his said conseil hath graunted his licence to the saide Cardinal to have out of his reaume of England the K' subgittes of the same to the nombre of ccl. speres and mmv^{c}. bowes to accompanye him to the reaume of Beeme for the reduccion or expugnacion of heretikes there that entenden the subversion of the Christen feithe. Nevertheless for asmuche as it is thought to the King and his saide conseil that considering diverse greet and grevous adversitees and fortunes of werre happened right late agoo after the tyme of the saide licence unto the K' subgittes in his reaume of France and the greet jupartye that the persone of my lorde of Bed' his uncle and the remenant of his trewe subgittes in the reaume of France and the same reaume standen yn, like to be lost and subverted o lesse than hasty and undelayed provision of socours and relief out of his reaume of England be disposed and sent heder and that therefore the service of the men of armes and archiers that have endented with the said Cardinal is in alle wyses necessarie and behoveful unto the King. The said Cardinal considering the thinges before reherced . . . is condescended unto the contenue of tharticles that folowe.

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[1] Carts.

[2] Dispersed.

63.

[Henry VI was crowned at Westminster on 6 November, 1429, and Gloucester was forced to renounce his title of Protector. Rot. Parl., iv. 337. (Lat.).]

Whereas the aforesaid Lord the King on the 6th day of November in this present year took upon himself at his coronation the duties of Protector and Defender of the Realm and of the Church, and himself took the oath at the said coronation to protect and defend the Church and Realm; and after careful consideration and mature deliberation amongst the Lords spiritual and temporal of the present Parliament, as to whether he ought to renounce the title of Protector and Defender for this reason, or not; and when they had heard and considered many important reasons and allegations made on this behalf, finally it seemed to the Lords spiritual and temporal, that he ought to renounce the said title of Protector and Defender from the time of the aforesaid coronation, for the aforesaid reason; he might, however, bear the title of Principal Councillor of our Lord the King, amongst the aforesaid Dukes and others of them, as long as it pleased the King, in all things, and always, according to the form and effect of the act and of the aforesaid Letters Patent.

64.

[(*a*) The French successes continued and on 23 April, 1430, Henry crossed to France at the head of an expedition. In May, Joan was captured by the Burgundians. Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 118.]

The xxiij day of May after noon ayens nyght, before the toun of Compigne, there was a woman taken armed in the feld, with many othere capitayns, the whiche was called la pucelle de Dieu, a fals wyche, for thorugh here power the dolphyn and alle oure adversaries trusted holy to have conquered ayen alle Fraunce, and nevere to an had the wers in place that she hadde been inne, for they helden here amonges them as for a prophetesse and a worthy goddesse.

[(*b*) Death of Joan of Arc. "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris" (A. Tuetey), 266. (Fr.).]

On the vigil of Corpus Christi in the same year, that is to say on 30 May, 1431, there was made a solemn discourse at Rouen before Joan, who had been captured before Compiègne, and who was called "La Pucelle". She was on a scaffold, so that all might see her clearly, clad in man's garments, and there were set forth all the great evils which through her had befallen the Christian faith, and especially the Kingdom of France, as all know.

[*Ibid.*, 268.]

Such foul errors and worse did Joan profess, and when they were all read aloud, the people were filled with horror, . . . for when her evil deeds and errors were expounded to her she was neither afraid nor disturbed. . . . And finally she was condemned to death by all, and was bound to a stake on the scaffold. . . . There were some there and elsewhere who said that she was a martyr . . . others denied it, but on that day, whether she had done ill or well, she was burnt.

65.

[Parliament met on 12 January, 1431. The Lords pronounced in favour of a peace policy. Rot. Parl., iv. 371.]

For as moche as in ye Tretee of ye Pees, made noughte longe agoo bytwyn ye Kyngs of noble memoire H. ye V^{te}, late oure soverain Lord, and his Fadre Charles of Fraunce, it is contiened yat noon of ye parties shall entree or make any tretee of Pees, or of accord, with Charles the Daufyn, with oute yassent of the thre Estats of bothe Reumys, yat is to say, of England and of Fraunce. And it is hold for certain yat oure holy Fadre ye Pope sendeth nowe doune in to Fraunce the moost reverent Fadre in God the Cardinal of Seint Crois, to trete ye Pees betwyn ye king and ye said Daufyn; and also ye King of Spayn, sent hider but late agoo his Ambassadeurs, which entred tretee of Pees, ye which tretee is yit hangyng bytwyn the Kyng oure souverain Lord and him for yeim, yeire Reumes, Lordshippes and Subgitz: And semblably ye Kyng of Scotts hath send nowe hider his solempne Ambassadeurs to trete a Pees finale betwyn ye Kyng and hym and here two Reumes. And as every man endowed with reson may well considere, it ys nought covenable ne suting, ne lyke to be to the plesire of God, ne of ye world; a Cristen Prince to refuse Pees offred with menes resonable, ne ye tretee yerof, yf it be desired of him, ye which by ye lawe of God, him owed to pursue and folowe; and also consideryng ye birdon of ye Werre, and howe grevous and hevy it is to yis lande; and howe behoffull yerfore the Pees were to hit. It is ordeined and advised by the Lordes Spirituel and Temporell, and Commens, beyng in yis present Parlement, that my Lordes Bedford and Gloucestr', and my Lord Cardinall, and oyer of ye Kynggs blood, and of his Counseill, may trete ye Pees on ye kynggs behalf, with ye saide parties, or any oyer; and yf yeim thynke ye menys of Pees offred by yat oyer partyes, convenable and good to ye Kyng and his subgitz, yenne to receive hem; and semblably to offre for ye Kyngges partie menis yat shal be thought to hem covenable and expedient, and by swich menys to conclude and accede ye Pees, to Goddis plesire.

66.

[Coronation of Henry VI in Paris, 16 December, 1431. "Brut," E.E.T.S. 457.]

And then Kyng Henry was brought from Caleys thurgh Normandy, to the cite of Roan, with strenght of his lordes, and with men of armes and archers; and there the kyng abode and rested him in the Castell and the Cite of Roan, from Seint Iames tyde the Apostell[1] vnto the secund day of Decembre. . . . And when Kyng Henry the Sext was goon from the Cite of Roan towards the Cite of Parys, and first to Seint Denys the ij day of Decembre; and there he was worthely receyued as euer was any kyng to any Cite; and the village cleped "Chapell," betwene Seint Denys and Parys, there mette with the Kyng and his lordes, the Provost of Parys, with the marchauntez, and iij other estates with hem, clothed in oon sute, in rede fyne saten crymsyn furred with martions, and with blewe hodes, to a grete notable nombre. . . .

And then the Saterday, the xv day of Decembre, the Kyng come on the after-none from Boys in Vyncent vnto the palays of Parys; and he rested hym there all that nyght. And the next morowe, the Sonday, was he brought worthely from the palyce to the Chirche of oure Lady in Parys; and there he was crowned Kyng of Fraunce by the Cardinall, the Bisshop of Winchestre and other English Bisshoppes, and of vi of the worthiest Bisshoppes of Fraunce. And this coronacion was worthely doon, with all the solempnite that myght be doon and ordeyned. . . .

And within xiiij dayes after, the Kyng come ouer the sea into England, and landed at the toune of Dover in Kent.

67.

[Gloucester took the opportunity of the absence of the King, Bedford, and the Bishop of Winchester to renew his demand for the resignation by the latter of his see since his promotion to the Cardinalate. Beaufort addressed the following letter to the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of London, on 13 April, 1432. R. R. Sharpe, "London and the Kingdom," 374, from "Letter Book K," fo. 105.]

My ryght trusty and with al myn herte entierly well loved frendis I grete yow wel as hertily as I can. . . . Wol ye wite that nought withstanding divers adversitees that I soeffre ayeinst Reson and gentilesse I hadde pourposed me to have goon to the court of Rome to doo the duetee that loongeth to my astat. . . . Nevertheless as in to this tyme I feele right littel or noon as me thenketh. And therfore nought withstanding that oure holy fadre hath sent un to me for to come to hym in haste I wol leeve al thing for a tyme and retourne agein into engeland and bee ther yif god wol a boute the bigynnyng of this parlement to knowe the causes why I am thus straungely demeened and declare my self as a man that have nought deserved soo to be treted. . . . Written att the good toun of Gaunt the xiii^{e} day of Averil.

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[1] 25 July.

[Beaufort defended himself against the attacks of Gloucester in the Parliament of May, 1432, and the result was a victory for the Cardinal. Rot. Parl., iv. 390-2.]

68.

[Bedford returned to England in June, 1433, and in the Parliament held in July, the Commons petitioned that he would remain in England. Rot. Parl., iv. 423.]

Memorandum yat ye XXIIII day of Novembr, ye Communys of ye land apperyng before ye Kyng in yis his present parlement, made to be saide to hym by yaire Speker, yat yei among hem had communid and considerid, yat howe were it, yat atte ye tyme of ye decesse of ye Kyng, of noble memorie his Fayer, yat was our soverain Lorde, ye obeysaunce yat he had in ye Reme of Fraunce, and in ye places and Cuntreys conquerid and goten by hym yere, was right tendre, yong and grene; and ye hertis of ye people yer, noght so fermid, stablished, and assurid, in affection, love and trouth, to ye Kyng be contynuaunce of any tyme, as with Goddes grace yai be nowe; and yat fewe English men abode, or wolde abyde yo yere, for ye greet perile, yat yai sawe in abidying yere; my Lorde of Bedford, for ye love and trouth yat he had unto yo Kyng, and to ye Worship and wele of hym, abode yo stille yere, to grete jupardie and aventure of his persone . . . and by his grete wisdome and manhede, with long contynuyd labour, peril, aventure of his persone, hath nobly doon his devoir, . . . and chevid many greet and faire thinges, worthi to be had in perpetuell remembraunce; and in especial, ye Batayle of Vernule . . . ye abidyng of my saide Lorde of Bedford in yis lande so blessidly and so well disposid, as thankid by God he is, shulde bee oon ye grettest seurte yat coude be thought, to ye wellfare of ye Kynges noble persone, and also to the good and restfull governaile and kepyng, as well of this lande inward, as of ye Kynges landes outward.

[After deliberation with the Lords the King asked Bedford to remain in England. He answered as follows.]

He was bashid yerof, heryng ye grete recomendation yat ye saide Communys gafe hym . . . neveryelees he woll with all his herte, be as redy atte ye Kynges commaundement to do him service, suche as shall lye in his power, as well in yis lande as in oyer places, as shall any suget yat the Kyng hath.

69.

[Report of feeling in England towards the Burgundian alliance. From a letter from Hue de Lannoi, Ambassador in England, 18 July, 1433, to the Duke of Burgundy. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S. II., i. 218. (Fr.).]

As regards the disposition in which we have for the most part found all those of the kingdom, truly at our arrival they were generally almost all of them ill-affected, and we were received at the first unkindly enough. But, after what we have heard, we have come to the conclusion that things have become considerably softened down; and to write to you truly, we have not by any means found that they intend to make any treaties or enterprises to the prejudice of you or your country; but we hold it as a truth that they desire to continue in love and goodwill towards you and your said country. . . .

We have heard it said in England that the marriage of the King and of the daughter of the Dauphin has been hurried on by certain persons; but we have not been able to ascertain that anything will be done therein.

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70.

[Gloucester was still anxious to continue the war, and his proposals were put before the Council for consideration, April, 1434. Nicolas, "Proc.," iv. 213.]

On 5 May in the 12th year the following was read before the Lords of the King's great Council in the house of the council in Parliament ("in domo consilii parliamenti".)

To you oure soverain lord. We your most humble liege men and subgites comen by your comandement to this your greet consail for oure discharge and acquitaille to God to your highnesse and to your subgites of bothe your reaumes with all humblesse shewe, how that but late agoo it lyked the hiegh and myghty Prince my Lord of Gloucestre your uncle furst by mouthe and afterward by writyng to make an offre of service to be doo by hym in your reaume of France to your hieghnesse if it lyked you in the manere and forme specified and contened at longe in the foresaid writyng the whiche offre if it had be or were possible to be put in execucion shuld with Goddes grace have be of greet availle and discharge to you, to this your reaume and to alle yor subgities of the same. But how be it that after diligent deliberacion and advis had upon the seid offre and labur dun to have founde the menes servyng therto, noon of the lordes, knyghtes, or squiers called by your hieghnesse to your seid greet consail coude se or fynde the weyes ne the menes by the whiche the seide offre myght be put in execucion in so hasty tyme as it needeth for the defense of your lordships and subgittes and restrayning of your ennemies the whiche as ye be daily certified from your consail and subgittes on the other side of the see be disposed to be in greet puissance on the feld in right hasty tyme, namely the meenes of getyng of the greet somme of good, that is to say, of xlviij. or l.m^{l}li. to the whiche somme the seid viage wold drawe in wages rewardes and shippyng or thereaboutes. For as your commissioners ordeyned in every shire of your land but late agoo to borowe can wel reporte upon your juelx the whiche be not so many as we wold men wol not lene seying the vexacion that men to whome thei have be leid have had for theim afore this tyme. . . . And over this as it hath ben clerely shewed by your Tresour the seid groundes left to you be ful fer fro the seid some or fro half therof so that impossibilitee of fyndyng of the forseid weyes and meenes as for this tyme and nought negligence, ne lak of tendernesse in us your trewe liege men and subgittes that desire withall our herts there were oure possibilitee, to the discharge of your hieghnesse and of all your subgittes as God knoweth . . . we your seid trewe liege men and subgittes besechen your hieghnesse in the humblest wise that yf my seid lord your uncle of Gloucester or eny other persone can fynde the weyes and menes by the wiche the seid offre may be put in feet[1] to thavaile of you and of your lande, that he wol opene and shew hem, to that ende that thei may effectuely be entended to.

71.

[Gloucester's proposals not being accepted, Bedford made suggestions as to the means of carrying on the war (Nicolas, "Proc.," iv. 222-229), and in July left England for France. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 137.]

And in that same grete wynter the comens of Normandy all abought cane,[2] what in besyn (?), and in the valey of Mortem,[3] roos vp all att onys, and leyd sege vnto the tovne and castell of cane vnto the nombre of x m^{l}. curll with many jentell of the same contre. And in the tovne beyng that tyme Sir Richard of haryngton capteyn of the tovne and castell. And Sir John ffalstolff, that tyme beyng in the tovne of alenson, herd how that the sege whas leyd vnto the tovne of cane, he hied him theder with vi^{xx}. men; and ffell vpon her wacche by nyght and slew many of hem, and cam into the tovne and so rescevyd the tovne. In the mene tyme the erll of Arondell, the lorde Talbot with many knyghtes and squyers to the nomber of iiij m^{l}, cam theder, for the duke of lanson was in that marches and seyd that he wolde have fought. And whan the Engelissh lordys were come theder he ffled away befor ther kommyng; and yet the duke had a x m^{l} men with him and the Englisshe lordes were not ffully of iiij^{c}. men. And then the erll of Arondell sett gouernance in that contre and tokyn all wepyn from hem, and weren sworne ayen unto the kyng and haddyn new byllettes euery man. . . . And (the) iiij. day of May the erll of Arondell with a (fayre) maine went before Garboray in bevoissins[1] for (to lay) sege vnto the seyd tovne; for poton[2] and (la hire) had fortefied vp the sayd place and weryn therin with a vi m^{l}. men. And the erlis men went abowght and sawtyd the placys ffast by. And so the erle whas left with a fewe meyne; and poton and la hire sawgh how that the erlles meyne weren all from him but a fewe vn to the nomber of iij^{c}., and they weren wary of rideng of all the nyght, and the footmen weryn not yet i-kom vn to them . . . and so potton and la hire with all her meyne com owte at onys owte of the towne on horsebak with vi^{c}. men, and so the erll whas . . . takyn presoner . . . and many moo . . . and ij^{c} weren slayn.

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[1] Action.

[2] Caen,

[3] Mortain,

72.

[In August, 1435, a Congress was opened at Arras to discuss terms of peace. The English proposals not being accepted, they withdrew from the Congress and a treaty was concluded between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy. Wavrin, "Croniques," R.S., iv. 85. (Fr.).]

Shortly after the ambassadors of the King of England had left the town of Arras, as has been said in the preceding chapters, and had returned to their country of England, without concluding any peace or agreement with the French, the two other parties who had remained at Arras, that is to say the French and Burgundians, reopened the conference in the accustomed place, where they deliberated and discussed much concerning many things; and by the exhortation of the two Cardinals of Cyprus and St. Crois and of many prelates and other notable people present at the conference from both sides, they agreed to make a final peace between King Charles on the one side and the Duke Philip of Burgundy on the other, as appears at length in all the chronicles of France, dealing with this time, and great and handsome reparations were made and promised to Duke Philip of Burgundy for the murder of his father the Duke John, by King Charles of France, in order to bring about this peace. And this peace caused great displeasure to the King of England and to all his prelates, princes, and barons, and to the whole council of England, but especially to the said Cardinal of Winchester, and to those who had been with him at the said congress, where many fair offers had been made to them, which they would never accept, and always refused, wherefore they were much troubled when the French made peace with the Duke of Burgundy, whom they feared much, and in truth he was one of the most powerful maintainers of the war against the English.

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[1] Gerberoy in the Beauvoisin.

[2] Pothon de Xaintrailles.

73.

[Breach between England and Burgundy. (*a*) The alliance between England and Burgundy being thus at an end, the Duke proceeded to lay siege to Calais in June, 1436. Letter from Calais to the Mayor of London. "Letter Book K," fo. 148; J. Delpit, "Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre," i. 252.]

To right worshipfull and discrete seres, the maire and aldermen of the cite of London.

Fful worshipfull, wise and discrete sires . . . we sende to yow at this time, how th' Armynakz that ben in Rewe[1] prese fast, and han praysed aboute Same de boys,[2] and takyn mony prisonners, and brent the toun of Staples,[3] and as it is said of presumption they purpose and avaunte to override the lordshipes heere of Guysnes and other, and to renne here afore this tounn, so ferforth that the pore tenauntz forsake the land

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Rue, recaptured by the French from the English, May, 1435.

[2] Samer au Bois, near Boulogne.

[3] Etaples.

and drawe theim into the said toun and castelx, and leve the villages desolate, the which, yef thei were destruyed, that God defende, were pryved of one sustenaunce of levyng and conforte, and the people anyentysede fo evyr. . . .

Wryten at Cales, the xxvii day of juyn.

Your oune the maire and aldermen of the tounn of Cales.

[(*b*) Siege of Calais, 1436. "Brut," E.E.T.S., 573-82.]

In the xiiij yere of the reyn of the said Henry the vi^{te}, Humfrey, Duyke of Gloucester, Protectour and Deffendour of Englond was made Capteyn of Caleis. . . . Then come tithynges ich day more and more of the seege comyng to Caleis. . . . And thai fortifiet the walles, toures, and dikes on ich a side of the toune, with-in and with-out, And dresset theire topes and theire gunnes to shote both hye and lowe. . . , Then Humfrey, Duyke of Gloucestre, Protectoure and Deffendoure of Englond and Capteyn of Caleis and of Guysnes, send for al the lordes of the Reame, both spirituell and temperell, and for all his feede men, and desired of hem an eyde for the rescowe of the saide toune of Caleis. And the lordes temperall hem graunted to go with hym hem-self in propur person, and fynde a certeyn meyny with hem vppon theire oune cost; And bishoppis, Abottes and priours also graunted to fynde a certeyn meyny to go with hym; And al his feede men hym graunted eke to go with hym; And he thonket all.

[The castles of Oye, Marck, Guisnes, and Sandgate surrendered to the Flemings and Picards.]

Philipe, Duyk of Burgoyn lay still all this while with his host of Flemmynges, before Caleis; and thei of the toune had letten in the see, and drownet al the cuntre about hem. And ich day thai of the toun and the Flemmynges skarmysshet togedris. And when thai had leyn ther xiiij daies, the Duyke lete ordeyn xx shippis out of Flaundres, wherof vi old shippes were lade with hard ston, chalke and brekes masont in hem with morter to droune hem in the haven of Caleis, that no shippis shuld come ther-in. And when it was full see, about noone, they bulgit hem, some in the haven-mouthe, and some besides the haven, to no purpos; for thei durst not tary, nor thei had no gret leysere to droun hem, for fere of gunshotte; And so thei went theire way ageyn; and on the next day after, at lowe water, wel was hym of the toun that myght bring an ax to breke the shippis; and so thai did, al to peces, and broughte hem in-to toune. . . . And whilis this was in doyng I thowsand Flemmynges stoden on the downes and beheld it and were full sory in theire hertes, and were full gretely therwith abasshit; for thai had wend ther shuld no shippis have comen in the haven afterward.

[After further English successes, and thinking that the Duke of Gloucester had arrived, Philip determined to abandon the siege.]

Wherfore the Duk and they of Gaunt brake up theire tentes sodeynly and priuely, and went over Gravenyng water that same nyght, and laft behjnd hem much of theire vitaile and of their ordynaunce; and gunnes were founden beried under the erthe.

74.

[Provisions made in the event of an attack on Guisnes by the Duke of Burgundy. Minutes of the Council, *c.* 18 November, 1437. Nicolas, "Proc.," v. 73.]

Yif the Duc of Bourg' come to Guysnes as it is supposed how that it shal be purveied for the rescowyng therof.

Stourton, Cromwell. Commissions (the worthiest that beth in the shires) of the moustres in the countrees to trete with suche people as thei may gete. Also that men of court in innes of courte be warned to be arraied, the commisioners to retourne and who of the shire sholde have the ledyng of the owne shire. Wages for a moneth.

Suffolk. The comissione to seye to serve the K'. on foote under suche Lordes as the K'. wol depute for the wages of a moneth or more as it shal lyke the K'. . . .

Chancellor. A prive seal to be directed unto the commissions to shewe how nedeful Caleys be to this land and how necessarie Guysnes is for the defense of Caleys and with other suche motives, etc. . . .

Yif the cappitain in this partie were knowe the people wolde the rather come.

Also that thei come upon deliverance of wages.

Lettres to the townes.

Noyse shal doo goode in the contrey.

Commision general. The K'. is enfourmed that the gentilmen of this land bethe oute of arraye.

Armurers and bowers in London to be set a werk. . . .

Lordes and citees and boroughes to be treted yif the cas happen.

Men to be maade knyztes after the fourme of the statut.

75.

[By 1439 the English were inclining towards peace, and ambassadors were sent to Calais with the following instructions. Negotiations between England and France. (*a*) Nicolas, "Proc.," v. 354; Rymer, x. 726.]

First the said ambassadours shal in suche maner and forme as shal be thought covenable aske and opene as for the most raisonable mene of peas that the adverse partie cesse and forbere to yeve from this tyme forth any let trouble or empechement on to the Kyng in occupacion and rejoising of his coronne and reme of France. . . . And if thambassatours of the adverse parte straunge hem to entende to this request, the Kynges said ambassatours shal after, under protestacion to be made by hem in forme accustumed . . . offre his said adversaire landes lordshippes and possessions beyonde the rivere of Leyre to have to him and theires of his body, that ys to say, the contre of Langdoke and other landes, and lordshippes beyond the said river belongyng to the said coroune to the valeu in demayne and revenue ordinarie and extraordinarie of xx^{ml}. li. yerly, to be holde of the Kyng asyn the ryght of his said coroune of Fraunce.

Item, if that other partie wol not contente hem with the said offre ne condescende to the peas thereby, the most reverent fadir in God my Lord the Cardinal shal mowe as a prelate of the cheurche and as a mediatour and a sterer to the peas remembre how thys werrys that hauve be mad in and for the title and claime of the coroune of France betwix the princes that have strived ther upon have endured this hondred yere and more, and that there haan be moo men slayne in the continuence of hem of oo nacion and other that been at thus day in bothe landes and so moch Christen blode shede. . . .

And of this exhortacion shal the Kinges ambassatours take occasion to . . . make . . . the offre that folewith, that is to say, that the Kyng our said souverain lord wol and shal suffre agre him and consente that . . . his said adversaire shal have holde and rejoisse to hem and to his heirs al the part of France belonging to the coroune of France that is beyond the river of Leyers, noght comprehending therinne but expressely reserving to the Kyng and to his heirs, the duchie of Guyenne, the conte of Poetowe. . . .

And after this offre thus made the Kinges said ambassatours shal mowe by processe enlarge the said offre, reservyng no mor to the Kyng beyonde the forsaide river of Leyre but that the kyng now standith or shal stande possessid of at the day of agrement of thadversaire to the said offre. . . .

And (if) the ambassatours of the other partie contente hem noght with offres nexte afor rehersed . . . the Kyng wol content hem to have to hym and to his heirs, all the cuntres lordshippes landes possessions rentes and revenues with all ther ryghtes and appertenentz that his noble progenitours the Kyng(s) of England haan had rejoissed and be possessed of, noght as Kynges of France, but in thair owne propre and prive right . . . the tounes and marches of Caleis comprehended thereinne, the conte chastel and lordshipp of Guysnes and other in the same marches, accordyng to the limites and bondes specified in the trete of Bretaygne.

[(*b*) On Gloucester's advice, the terms offered by the French, that the English should keep their possessions in Guienne, Calais, and Normandy, excluding Mt. S. Michel, were rejected. The Cardinal was in favour of a peace policy. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S., ii. 446-51, 1440.]

To the whiche mater in youre saide presence (King Henry), therafter that it had liked yow to aske myn advice therupon, with other lords of youre bloode and counsaille, I (Gloucester) answered and saide that I wolde never agre me therto, to dye therfore; and of the same disposicion I am yeet, and wol be whilest I lyve, in conservacion of youre honneur and of youre ooth made to youre saide coronne of Fraunce in tyme of youre coronacion there.

[In furtherance of the peace policy it was also proposed to liberate the Duke of Orleans, a prisoner in England. To this Gloucester also objected.]

Wherefore, considering that the saide cardinal and archebisshop of York ben they that pretenden the gouvernance of you and of youre saide royaume, please it to youre highnesse, my ful doubted lord, to estraunge hem of youre counsaille, to that extent that men may be at thair fredam to sey what hem thenketh of trouth; for thogh I dar speke of my trouthe, the poure ne dar not so.

76.

[Accusation of witchcraft was brought against the Duchess of Gloucester in July, 1440. Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 128.]

Also in this same yere the duchesse of Gloucetre was arested and put in Holt, for she was suspecte of treson; and a clerk that was longyng to here, whiche was clepyd Roger Whiche, was taken for Werchynge of sorcery ayens the kyng, and he was put into the Tour; and after, he was brought into Poules, and there he stood up on high on a scaffold ageyn Poulys crosse on a Sonday, and there he was arraied like as he schulde never the in his garnementys, and there was honged rounde aboughte hym alle hise intrumentis whiche were taken with hym, and so schewyd among all the peple and after he was broughte to fore the lordys, and there he was examyned; and after broughte to the Yeldehalle, and there he was regned aforen the lordes of the kynges counseill and to fore alle the juges of this land; and anon after, the lady of Gloucestre afornseid was mad to apere thre sondry dayes afore the kyng and alle hise lordes spiruell and temperell; and there she was examyned of diverses poyntes of wicchecraft, of the whiche she knowleched that she hadde used thorugh the counseill of the Wicche of Eye; the whiche was brent on the even of Symond and Jude in Smythefeld. . . . My lady of Gloucestre hadde confessed here wichecraft, as it is afornseid she was yoyned be alle the spriualte assent to penaunce; to comen to London fro Westm' on the Moneday next suynge and londe at the Temple brigge out of here barge, and there she tok a taper of wax of ij$^{lb.}$ in here hond, and wente so thorugh Fletstrete on here foot and hoodles unto Poules, and there she offred up here taper at the high auter; and on the Wednesday nest suenge she com fro Westm', be barge, unto the Swan in Tempse strete, and there she londyd, and wente forthe on here feet thorugh Brigge strete, Groschirche strete, to the Ledenhalle, and so to Crichirche in the wyse afornseyh; and at iche of the tymes the mair with the schirreves and the craftes of London were redy at the places there she sholde londe; and after, Roger the clerk afornseyd on the Satirday, that is to sey the xviij day of Novembre, was brought to the Yeldehalle, with Sire John Hom prest, and William Wodham squyer, the whiche S$^{r.}$ John and William hadden there chartres at that tyme; and the clerk was dampned, and the same day was drawe fro the Tour of London to Tiborn, and there hanged, hedyd, and quartered, and the heed sett upon London bregge; and his oo quarter at Hereford, another at Oxenford, another at York, and the fourthe at Cambregge; and the lady put in prison, and after sent to Chestre, there to byde whill she lyvyth.

77.

[Owing to the failure of the negotiations the war was continued and the Duke of York set out in June, 1441, with reinforcements. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, iii. 536, 18 February.]

Commission to John, Duke of Norfolk, William, Earl of Suffolk, John Clyfton, knight, Henry Inglose, knight, the Sheriff of Norfolk, and the Collectors of the tenth and fifteenth and the moiety of the tenth and fifteenth granted to the King in the last Parliament by the Commonalty of England to treat as soon as may be with the King's lieges in Norfolk for the payment of the fourth part of the said tenths and fifteenths, which they were appointed to collect at Easter, and to answer for the same at the Exchequer, before the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the King having heard rumours of an attack on the King's dominions of France and Normandy, and intending to send thither the Duke of York with no small army to expel the enemy.

78.

[In 1442 the Count of Armagnac suggested a marriage alliance between one of his daughters and Henry VI. Envoys were sent by Henry to his court with the following instructions. T. Bekynton, "Official Correspondence," R.S., ii. 183.]

The Kinge wol, Sires, that ye holde forth your journey, using th'instrucions that were deliverd unto you in his presence, saveng oonly where ye had the name of oon in especial, the King wol that ye trete in general, to th'entent that he may heve the choys . . . and at your first commyng thider, in al haste possible, that ye do portraie the iij. doughters in their kerttelles simple, and their visages, lyk as ye see their stature and their beauete and color of skynne and their countenances, with almaner of fetures; and that j. be delivered in al haste with the said portratur to bringe it unto the Kinge, and he t'appointe and signe which hym lyketh; and therupon to sende you word how ye shal be gouverned.

79.

[In 1442 the war had been carried on in Gascony, and several French successes had been gained. In 1443 the Council had to decide whether to concentrate on the defence of Normandy or Guienne. Cant. and York Soc., vol. xxiii., "Reg. of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, 1422-48," 252.]

By the Kinge. Reverend fader in God, right trusti and wel beloved, it is not unknowen unto you how that our adversary of France and his oldest son that calleth himselfe Dauphin, with all the myght and puissance that they can and may assemble and with all thassistance and help not oonly of thoo that oure said adversary calleth his vassalles and subjects, but also of his allies of other reaumes and contrees, enforcen hem and maken, and be disposed to make, in this season that now is at hande, unto us soore and as myghty werre bothe by water and bi lande as they can divise, and namely in our duchies of Normandie and Guienne; and how be it that we, by thadvis of oure counseil, have do, and dayli do, all diligence possible to us for provision to be made of grete and notable puissance to be sent over to resiste hem in thayr said purpos and to rebuke hem . . . we write unto you exhortyng, requiring, and hertly prayeng yow that ye do all the devoir and diligence possible to yow in this behalve, making all thoo that be called ministers of Goddis chirch, seculiers and reguliers, withyne your diocise, to go openly and devoutly procession divers daies in the weke al this yere next folwyng, . . . sturing hem that considering the necessitees and the thinges abovesaid thei encrece therefore and eke their laboures and diligence in prayer not cessing, but all other occupacions and plesieres that be not behovefull forborin and left ferforth as them shall resonably mowe be continually emendyng to devout prayers day and nyght, afore noon and after, namely in Goddis hous, where prayers be most exaudible. (Dated 8 March.)

80.

[The negotiations with Armagnac failed owing to the war in Gascony. Under the influence of the Beauforts a marriage was arranged with Margaret of Anjou. The betrothal took place in May, 1444. "Brut," E.E.T.S., 485.]

And then the xxv day of Maye next suyng, the Kyng of Cisyll and of Jerusalem, with the Quene his wife, brought with theym Dame Margaret theire doughter, to the Cite of Toures in Turyn, in Fraunce, and there met the Kyng of Fraunce and the Quene his wife. And the Kyng of Fraunce toke the Kyng of Cisill and of Jerusalem by the hande; and so they yede forth togeder; and the Quene of Fraunce toke the Quene of Cisill and of Jerusalem by the hande, and so they yede forth togeder thurgh the Cite till they come to the chief Chirch of the Cite of Tours in Tureyn. And then come this Dame Margarete as for Quene of England, and ledde betwene the Dolphyn of Fraunce and an-other grete Prince of Fraunce; and they ledde Dame Margaret to the chief Chirche, which is of Seynt Martyn, with vij dukes and xiiij Erles, with other grete lordes and ladyes folowing theym, into the same Chirche. And then come the Markeys of Suffolk, and all the other ambassatours of England. And there Dame Margaret made suraunce to the Markeis of Suffolk, and principally to the Kyng of England, and to all these ambassatours; and she was made there Quene of England. And the Markeis of Suffolk and the other ambassiatours made surance to Dame Margaret, in presence of the kynges and quenes, dukes, Erles, lordes and ladyes, and also in presence of a legate of Rome there beyng at that tyme.

[Margaret crossed to England in February, 1445. *Ibid.*, 489.]

And the Friday, the xxvjth day of Maye, the Mayre of London with the aldermen and Shirrefs and comons of the Cite rode to the Blake-Heth in Kent; and there they abode and hoved[1] on horsbak vnto the Quenes comyng. And so they came with hir to London; and she was brought to the Toure of London; and there she rested hir all nyght. . . . And then on the morowen at after none, the Quene come from the Toure in a hors-bere with ij sledes trapped all in white damask poudred with gold; and so was the vesture that she had on; and the pylowes and all the bere in oon sute; and hir here combed downe about hir shulders, with a coronall of gold, riche perles and precious stones, with all lords on horsbak and ladyes in chares, that is to sey, xix chares of ladyes and theire gentelwomen, and all the craftes of the Cite of London goynge on fote in theire best aray vnto Seint Paules. And by the wey, as she come thurgh the Cite, there were shewed and made many devises and storyes, with angeles and other hevenly thinges, with songe and melody in dyuers places; and the condites ran wyne, bothe white and rede, for all peple that wold drynk. . . .

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[1] remained.

And on the morowe, that was Sonday, the xxx day of Maye, was the coronacion and fest rially and worthely holden at Westminster in the Kynges palays.

81.

[It was said that Suffolk had promised the cession of Maine to the French King, an unpopular move. In the Parliament which met on 29 April, 1445, he demanded a vote of confidence. Rot. Parl., v. 74.]

Be it had in mynde, That the secunday of Juyn, the xxiiith yare of oure Soveraigne Lorde Kyng Henry the sext, my lord the Marques and Erle of Suff', in this present Parlement in the presence of my Lord of Gloucestr', and other my Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, then beyng present in the Counsaill Chaumbre of the Parlement, declared ryght notably, compendyously, and discretly, his laboure which he had made by the Kynges commandement of late tyme, aswell for the pees and abstinence of werr' betwene the Roialmes and Lordshippes of Ingelond, and of Fraunce, as for the marriage of our said Soveraigne Lord the Kyng, with the most noble and famous Princesse our Soveraigne Lady the Quene, Doghter to the high and myghty Prynce the Kyng of Cesile . . . and declared for his true acquitaile toward oure saide Soveraigne Lorde, and thus his noble Roialme, that howe be it that hit is promysed, that certayn Ambassitours that come frome the Frenche partie into this Roialme in goodly hast, for to trete of pees, . . . yite it semed to hym ryght necessarie, expediente and behovefull, for the suerte of this Roialme, and the Kynges obeisaunce beyonde the see . . . that ordinaunce and provision myght be made in all gooddely hast, atte all tymes to be redy to the defence of that lande, and for the werre and myghty defence therof, the which myght in this time of abstinence be more esely seen to, then in the tyme of the werre. . . .

[On the following day, 3 June, Suffolk made the same declaration to the Commons. On 4 June they replied as follows. *Ibid.*, 73.]

Be it had in mynde, that the iiii^the^ day of Juyn, in the presence of oure Soveraigne Lorde, and of my Lordes Spirituel and Temporel and Commones, in this present Parlement assembled, after declaration made by my Lorde the Marques and Erle of Suff' . . . to the ende it myght in tyme to come abyde in the rememberaunce whatsoever yet thereof, as more pleynlly it may appere be an Acte therof made in this Parlement Rolle; William Burley, Speker for the said Commones, . . . recomended to our said Soveraigne Lord the Kyng, and to his good Grace, my saide Lorde the Marques of Suff', and his ryght grete and notable werkys whiche he hathe done to the pleasir of God, of oure saide Soveraigne Lord, and of his people; shewyng and declaryng in especiale, my said Lorde of Suff', hath ben to labour all his dayes, for conservation of the peas in the Kynges lawes within this Roialme, in repressyng and expellyng al maner rioters and extortions within the same in his knyghtly corage, shewyng at al tymes in the Kyngs werres beyond the See, sithyn the tyme he come to the Kyngs service, and singulerly his grete and diligent labours wheche he hathe had now late beyond the See by his notable wysdom, providence, and discrecion, aboute the Trete of peas betwene the Roialmes and Lordshippes of Ingelond and of Fraunce . . . and also grete devoirs and diligences the whiche he hathe had, in entendyng to laboure . . . to the marriage of oure said Soveraigne Lorde the Kyng, to the most noble and famous Prinses oure Soveraigne Lady the Quene . . . the Speker . . . prayed to all my Lordes Spirituel and Temporel there then beyng present, that they wold wochesaf, for the said considerations, pray and beseche our said Soveraigne Lorde the Kyng, to repute, accept, declare, and take my said Lord of Suff' to his goode and benygne grace and favour for the cause above said, . . . uppon the whiche request . . . my Lorde of Gloucestr', and many other Lordys Spirituell and Temporell abovesaid, arose of their setis, and besoghtyn humbly the Kyng of the same as they were prayed by the said Communes to pray and to beseche his Highnesse to do; the whiche praiers and desyres, bothe of the Lordes and of the Communes, oure said Sovereign Lorde, by the mouthe of my Lord of Canterbury Chaunceller of Englond, answerde in this wyse, . . . saying to them . . . that his Highnesse . . . wold repute, accept, declare, and take to his goode and benyngne grace and favour my said Lord of Suff', as hym that had alwey do good, true, feithfull and notable service to his Highnesse, . . . and graunted and commaunded the said declarations, laboures, and demesnyngs, and diligences of my said Lord of Suff' and the said recomendations and desires of the said Communes and Lordes, to his true acquitaille and discharge, perpetuell honour of hym, and of his heires for ever, to be enacted and enrolled of record, in the Rolle of the said Parlement.

82.

[The French ambassadors arrived on 14 July, 1445. On 22 December the cession of Maine was promised. Letter from Henry VI to Charles VII. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S., ii. 639.]

Most high and powerful prince, our very dear uncle, knowing that you would be very glad that we should make deliverance of the city, town, and castle of Le Mans, and of all that we have and hold within the comté of Maine, to the most high and powerful prince, and our very dear father and uncle, the King of Sicily and Charles of Anjou, his brother (as by your subjects and ambassadors at this time sent to us has been more fully said and explained) who have . . . informed us that it appeared to you that this was one of the best and aptest means to arrive at the blessing of a peace between us and you; wishing effectually to prove the great desire and affection which we have to attain unto the said blessing of peace . . . favouring also our most dear and well-beloved companion the queen, who has requested us to do this many times, and out of regard to our said father and uncle . . . we signify and promise in good faith and on our kingly word to give and deliver really and actually . . . all excuses and hindrances ceasing and put aside, the town and castle of Le Mans, together with all the towns, castles and fortresses, and generally all that we have and hold and which is in our possession within the comté of Maine, by the last day of April next coming, and to send our subjects and officers to you with power sufficient to make the said delivery. . . .

Dated at Windsor, the xxij day of December, in the year one thousand cccc and forty-five.

83.

[Parliament met at Bury St. Edmunds on 10 February, 1447. Death of the Duke of Gloucester. (*a*) Notes by Richard Fox, Monk of St. Albans. "Eng. Chron.," C.S., App., 116.]

The Parlement of Berye, the regne of kyng Harry the vj, the xxxv yere. The Parlement began the x day of Februarye.

And onne the xvj day of the same moneth mustered the men of the same contre on the north syde of Berye on Henow Heth to the nowmbre of xl.M.

. . . And on the morewe, that is to seye the xviij day of

Februarye and Schrooffe-Sonedayes Even, come the duke of Gloucetre fro Lanam; and or he come by halue a myle or more mette with hym sir John Stourtone, treserere of the kynges howse, and sir Thomas Stanley, cowntroller of the kyngus hows, in message fro the kyng, was, as hit was reportyd by somme of the forseyd dukes meyne:—"That forasmoche as the forseyde duke of Gloucetre hadde labered in that feruent coolde wheder, hit was the kynges wylle that he scholde take the next wey to his loggyng, and goo to his mete". And indede he enterid in at the Southgate about xj on the clokke affore none. And by estymacyon there come with hym to the nowmbre of iiij score hors. . . .

And anoon as he hadde eten, come to hym by the kynges comaundement the duke of Bokyngham, the marques of Dorset, the erle of Salysbery, the vycount Bemound, the lorde Sudeley. And the vycount Bemound areste the seyde duke of Gloucetre. . . .

And on the Schroff-Tewesday, in the latter ende of ther mete, in the halle, were areste . . . to the nowmbre xxviij. And these were sent to dyuerse plases to prisone, somme to the Touur of Londone, somme to Wynchester, somme to Notyngham, and somme to Northamtone, and to other dyuers places, as plesyd the kyng and his councelle.

And on the Thorsday next folowyng, aftre the arestyng of the sey duke of Gloucetre he deyde sone appon iij on the belle at aftrenone, at his owne loggynge, called Seynt Saluatores, without the Northgate: on whose sowle God haue mercy. Amen.

And on the Fryday next folewing, the lordes spirituelle and temporelle, also knightes of the Parlement and whosoeuer wolde come, saugh hym dede. . . . And on the Saturday next folewynge by the morewen, he was bore to the Greye Freres of Babbewede, with xx torches of his owne meynye; saue the too yemen of the crowne and the sergeaunt of armes, ther were no mo strangeres that went with hym. . . .

And on the Fryday they come to Seynt Albones, and there was done his dyryge, and on the morewe his Masse, and thanne put into a feyre vout wheche was made for hym by his lyffe, and so closed and mured up. . . .

And alle the other that were araste, bothe gentyllemen and yemen, the kyng dede hem grace: relesed hem of ther prisonment, and fore the more part were restored to ther goodes.

And thus endet Vmffrey the duke of Gloucetre.

[(*b*) "Chron. 1445-1455"; Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 344. (Lat.).]

And in the xxvith year (of his reign) died the Duke of Gloucester, Humphrey, the son of Henry IV, brother of Henry V, and uncle of Henry VI, at the Parliament at Bury on the eve of the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle,[1] about midnight. This duke was a man of letters, and a true enthusiast for learning, the faith, the welfare of the clergy and the realm. He enriched the University of Oxford with gifts of precious, beautiful, and sumptuous books of every science and branch of learning; and his name and the remembrance of him are and shall be for ever engraved there in memory both human and divine.

84.

[On 11 April, 1447, Cardinal Beaufort died, leaving Suffolk supreme in the Council. Aware of his unpopularity, he again demanded an opportunity for declaring his loyalty. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, v. 78, 17 June, 1447. Rymer, xi. 172.]

Declaration that William, marquis and earl of Suffolk, accused of disloyalty on the delivery of the land of the counties of Anjou and Cenomannia (Maine), made a petition for a place and time wherein to defend himself, which the king granted, to wit, on 25 May, 25 Henry VI, in the chamber at Westminster palace, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor, Marmaduke, bishop of Carlisle, treasurer, Walter, bishop of Norwich, Richard, Duke of York, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, Ralph, lord of Cromwell, Ralph, lord of Syley, king's steward, James, lord of Say, king's chamberlain, and others, whereupon the said marquis justified himself to the full satisfaction of the king and the said councillors.

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[1] 23 Feb.

85.

[In May, 1448, the English entered Scotland. The Scots retaliated, and on 23 October defeated the English near the River Sark by the Solway. "Bale's Chron.," ap. Flenley, 123.]

Item the moneth of septembre the king rode to York at which tyme the Scottes had issued into the English marches and brent and dyd moch harme and afterward as cowardes knowyng of the kynges comyng stale home again and ffled into Scotland and after them issued a greet power into the land of Englissheman of the marches and brent and slewe in Scotland and wolde have distroied that land but they wer reconntred and comaunded by the king to ceas and soo cam ageyn. And than the Scots of sotell ymaginacion rosen agein. And than Sir Henre pery and many other Gentiles pursued upon theym and sodenly they wer betrapped and taken in a mire ground which was a greet hevynes to the king and a grevous hurt to this land. And a noon after the Erle of Salesbury brent greet part of the marches of Scotland and toke many prisoners and greet store of their catell.

86.

[A truce with France had been concluded to last until 1 January, 1449. The policy of Somerset and Suffolk, however, was not calculated to promote peaceful relations between the two countries and the attack on Fougères resulted in a declaration of war by Charles VII. "Le Recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Heraut du roy." Stevenson, "Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy," R.S., 239. (Fr.).]

In the year 1448 (1449), in the month of March, the English took by escalade and surprise the town and castle of Fougères, situated and placed in the duchy of Bretaigne on the borders of Normandy, during the truce made and taken between the King of France, our sovereign lord, and the King of England. And the said English were six hundred men at arms, of whom a knight of Aragon, named Sir Francois de Surienne, was the chief and leader. . . . . The King of France . . . by the mature advice of his great council . . . immediately sent an embassy . . . to the duke of Somerset, at that time governour of Normandy for the King of England, to summon and require him to restore and deliver the said town and castle of Fougères. . . . The said Duke of Somerset answered that he disclaimed the persons who had taken it, although he was glad at it, and would not wish that it had happened otherwise; and therefore he would not meddle nor interfere to make them give it back.

87.

[In May, 1449, Robert Winnington was commissioned to clear the sea of pirates. Letter from him to Thomas Daniel, 25 May, 1449. "Paston Letters," ii. 103, no. 90.]

I send you word that when we went to see, we toke ij. schyppys of Brast comyng oute of Flaundrys; and ther after, ther ys made a grete armyng in Brytayne to mete with me and my felyschyp, that ys to say, the grete schyp of Brast, the grete schyp of the Morleys, the grete schyp of Vanng, with other viij. schyppis, bargys, and balyngers, to the number of iij.m^{li} men; and so we lay in the see to mete with them.

And then we mette with a flotte of a c. grete schyppys of Pruse, Lubycke, Campe, Rastocke, Holond, Selond, and Flandres, betwyte Garnyse[1] and Portland; and then I cam abord the Admirall, and bade them stryke in the Kyngys name of Englond; and they bade me skyte in the Kyngys name of Englond; and then I and my feleschyp sayd, but he wyll streke don the sayle, that I wyld over sayle ham by the grace of God, and God wyll send wynd and wether; and dey bade me do my wurst, by cause I had so fewe schyppys and so smale, they scornyd with me. And as God wuld, on Fryday last was, we had a gode wynd, and then we armyd to the number of ij m^{l} men in my feleschyp, and made us redy for to over sayle them; and then they lonchyd a bote, and sette up a stondert of truesse, and com and spake with me. And then they were yolded all the hundret schyppys to go with me in what port that me lust and my felawys; but they faothe with me the day before, and schotte atte us a j.m^{l} gonnys, and quarell owte of number, and have slayn meny of my feleschyp, and meymyd all soo. Wherfor me thyngkt that they have forfett bothe schyppys and godys at our Soverayn Lord the Kyngys wyll.

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[1] Guernsey.

88.

[Trial and death of Suffolk. On 26 January, 1450, the Commons petitioned for the impeachment of Suffolk. Rot. Parl., v. 177.]

To the Kyng oure Soverayn Lord; Sheweth and piteously compleyneth youre humble and true obeisauntes Commens of this youre noble Reaume, in this your present Parlement by your high auctorite assembled, for the suerte of your moost high and Roiall persone, and the welfare of this your noble Reaume, and of your Liege people of the same. That William de la Pole Duke of Suff' late of Ewelme in the countee of Oxonford, falsely and traiterously hath ymagined, compassed, purposed, forethought, doon and committed dyvers high, grete, heynous and horrible treasons, ayenst your moost Roiall persone, youre Corones of your Reaumes of Englond and Fraunce, youre Duchies of Guyan and Normandie, and youre olde enheritaunce of your Countees of Anjoye and Mayne, the estate and dignite of the same, and the universall wele and prosperite of all your true subgettes of your seid Reaumes, Duchies and Countee, in maner and fourme ensuyng.

[Here follow the charges in detail concerning the loss of Normandy, and his general conduct of the administration. *Ibid.*, 182.]

Off which offenses, misprisions, untrue labours and fals deceytes, in the seid Articles specified, We your seid Commens accuse and empeche the seid Duke of Suff'; and in the moost humble wise beseche and pray your Highnesse, that this be enacted in this youre high Court of Parlement. . . .

[On 13 March Suffolk was brought to Parliament. He denied the charges brought against him, and repeated his denial on 17 March. He refused to claim a trial by his peers, submitting himself to the King's judgment. The Chancellor's speech. *Ibid.*, 183.]

Sire, y conceyve you that ye not departyng from youre answers and declarations in the maters aforeseid, not puttyng you uppon youre Parage, submitte you hooly to the Kyngs rule and governaunce . . . the Kyng, by force of youre submission, by his owne advis, and not reportyng hym to the advis of his Lordes, nor by wey of Jugement, for he is not in place of Jugement, putteth you to his rule and governaunce: That is to say, that ye, before the first day of May next commyng, shull absente youre self oute of his Reame of Englond; and also, from the seid first day of May, unto the ende of v yere next folowyng and full complete, ye shall abstene you to abyde in his Roialme of Fraunce, or in any other Lordshippes or places being under his obeysaunce, whersoever they be.

[(*b*) "Bale's Chron." ap. Flenley, 128.]

And in this parliament the comones therof appeled and detect to the kings highnes the seid duk of Suffolk being in the tour as a prisoner of divers poyntes of treson notwithstonding which appeel the king delivered be his prerogatif the same duk out of the tour at large. And the xv day of March the same duk being at Westminster pryvely gate awey from thens and yede that nooman knewe whether. Where with the comones of this land wer agreved and certeyn of the seid duks men wer take in the nyght be wacchemen of the Citee and comyt to the comptours but they wer delivered ageyn be write w^{t} out tarieng.

[The Parliament was adjourned to Leicester. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 159.]

Anon aftir this he went into Northfolk, and toke there shippyng. And a ship called Nicolas of the Toure mette wt hym upon the see, and toke hym and brought hym to Dovyr Rode; and there stroke of his hede, and laide the body upon lond vpon the sandes.

89.

[Rising of Jack Cade, 1450. (*a*) Grievances of the rebels. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. viii. pt. 1, App., 266. *Cf.* "Three Fifteenth Century Chron.," C.S., 94-9, and Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 360-4.]

These ben the poyntes, mischeves and causes of the gederynge and assemblynge of us zyoure trew legemene of Kent. . . .

Item, they sey that oure Soveraigne lorde is above his lawe, and that the lawe is made to his plesure, . . .

Item, they seye the Kynge schuld lyve upon his Comyns, and that her bodyes and goods are his; . . .

Item, they sey when the Kynge wulle, schalle be traytours, and when he wulle none schalle be none; . . . .

Item, we sey that our Soveraygne lorde may well undurstand that he hath hadde ffalse counsayle, ffor his lordez ern lost, his marchundize is lost, his comyns destroyed, the see is lost, ffraunse his lost, hymself so pore that he may not (? pay) for his mete nor drynk; . . . .

Item, we wulle that alle men know that we wulle neythur robbe nor stele, but those fawtes amendid we schall go hoom. . . .

Item, we wulle it be knowne that we blame not alle the lordes nor alle that biene aboute the Kynges persone . . . but such as may be ffounde gilty by a just and trew enquere by the lawe. . . .

God be oure gyde and then schull we spede
Who so evur say nay, ffalse for ther money reulethe,
Trewth for his tales spellethe,
God seende vs a ffayre day. Awey, traytours, awey!

[(*b*) The rebels, under the leadership of Jack Cade, reached Blackheath in June. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 190.]

(Ande aftyr that) the comyns of Kent a rosse with certayne othyr schyrys, and they chesse hem a captayne, the whyche captayne compellyd alle the gentellys to a-rysse whythe hem. Ande at the ende of the Parlyment they come whythe a grete myght and a stronge oste unto the Blacke Hethe, be syde Grenewyche, the nomber of xlvi M^1, and there they made a fylde, dykyd and stakyde welle a-bowt. . . . And there they a-bode certayne days too the comyng of the kynge for the parlymentte at Leyceter. Ande thenne the kyng send unto the captayne dyvers lordys bothe spyrytualle and temporalle, to wytte and to have knowleche of that grette assembelynge and gaderyng of that grete and mysavysyd feleschyppe. The captayne of hem sendyng worde agayne unto the kynge, that hyt was for the wele of hym oure soverayne lorde, and of alle the realme, and for to dystrye the traytours beyng aboute hym, wythe othyr dyvers poyntys that they wolde see that hyt were in schorte tyme a-mendyde. Uppon whyche answere that the kyng, thedyr sent by hys lordys, dyd make a crye in the kyngys name of Engelonde that all the kyngys liegemen of Engelonde shulde a-voyde the fylde. And a-pon the nyght aftyr they were alle voydyd and a-goo.

[(*c*) Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 159.]

Wherfore it was agreed that Sir Humfrey Stafford, knyght, and William Stafford, Esquyer, and an other Squyer with theym, shuld ffolowe the chase. And at Sevenok in Kent they met and fought w^t the capitayne and his company, where the said Sir Humfrey and his company lost the ffeelde, and Sir Humfrey Stafford and William his brother w^t many other there were sleyn.

[(*d*) The rebels therefore returned to London, "Bale's Chron.," ap. Flenley, 131.]

The ffriday which was the eve of the Translacion of seint Edward[1] the kyng comaunded all his host to moustr

[1] 19 June.

upon the seid heth and ther was than a mighty puissance which puissance was assigned by the king's counseill to have ridden into Kent and pursued the seid capitaigne and his peple and so to have destroied Kent and taken theym. But the capitaigne and his ffelauship disposed them in such wyse and departed his peple in severall busshements to have recountred w^t the lordes and their puissance. So that the king's host made than a sodeyn showte and noys upon the seid heth seing distroye we thise traitours about the king which that the seid capitaigne hat entended to doo or ever we will doo hit. Whereupon the king graunted their desire and comaunded the lord Say Chamberleyn of Engeland to be take and soo he was arrested in the king's presence.

[(*e*) "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 67.]

Whan the kynge was gone the capteyn with the comynes of Kent came agene to the Black-hethe. And the iij^the day of Juyle he came to London; and as sone as thei entred in London they rubbed Phelippe Malpas. And the iiij day of July he behedid Crowmer . . . and . . . the Lorde Say was fett oute of the Toure to the Yelde Hall to for the meire to have jugement, and whan he came befor the meir he said he wolde be juged by his perys. . . . And the same nyght (July 5th) the Meir and Shoreffes . . . and the comynes of London went to London Brygge, and ther they faughte from ix of the cloke at eve till ix on the morowe, and at the laste the capeteyne fired the drawe brigge. Ande forthe withe went the Chaunseler to the capteyne and sessed him and yave him a chartur. . . . Then the xii day of Juyll was in every shire proclamed that whate man that coutte take the forsaide capteyn shulde have a M^l marke and brynge him to the king quicke or dede . . . for hit was openly knowe that his name was not Mortymer, his name was John Cade, and therfor his chartor stode in no streynthe. And so one Alexandre Iden, a squyre of Kent, toke hym in a garden in Sowthsex the xiii day of Jule.

90.

[The war in France. (*a*) During 1449-50 the French inflicted several defeats upon the English. By August, 1450, Cherbourg was the last remaining stronghold in English hands. Its fall marks the end of English rule in northern France. "Le recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Herault du Roy": Stevenson, "Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy," R.S., 367. (Fr.).]

Thomas Gouel . . . surrendered the castle and town of Cherbourg on the twelfth day of the month of August, in the said year 1450. And the said English who were within went by sea into England, their lives and goods being saved, they being one thousand good fighting men. . . . And thus the whole duchy of Normandy was conquered, and all the cities, towns, and castles thereof brought in subjection to the king of France within one year and six days.

[(*b*) Results of English losses. "Bale's Chron.," ap. Flenley, 134.]

Item the Thursday, and fryday suyng (Aug. 6 and 7) and soo dayly after cam thurgh Chepe diverse long cartes w^t stuff of armor and bedding and houshold as well of Englissh as of Norman goodes and men women and children in right pover array pitewus to see dryven out of Normandy.

[(*c*) Letter from Margaret to John Paston, 12 March, 1450. "Paston Letters," ii. 136, no. 106.]

Ther ben many enemys azens Yermouth and Crowmar, and have don moche harm, and taken many Englysch men, and put hem in grett distresse and grettely rawnsommyd hem; and the seyd enemys been so bold that they kom up to the lord, and pleyn hem on Casten Sonds, and in other plases as homely as they were Englysch men.

91.

[Intervention of the Duke of York. Richard Duke of York, who had been appointed Lieutenant in Ireland in 1448, left Ireland in August, 1450, and reached London, evading the King's officers who had been instructed to arrest him. He then presented the following bill to the King. Stow, "Annales," 395, misplaced under 1452; *cf.* "Paston Letters," ii. 177, no. 143.]

Please it your highnes tenderly to consider that great murmur and grudging is universally in this your Realme, is that Justice is not duly ministered to such as trespasse and offend against your lawes, and in especiall of them that be endited of treason, and other being openly noised of the same, whereby great inconveniences have fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your said Realme, which God defend, but if by your highnes prouision couenable bee made for due reformation and punishment in this behalfe. Wherefore I pour humble subyect and true liegeman Richard Duke of Yorke, willing as effectually as I can, and desiring the suertie and prosperitie of your most royall person, and the welfare of this your noble Realme, counsell and advertise your excellence for the conversation[1] of good tranquillitie and peaceable rule among all other subjects for to ordain and prouide, y^{t} true justice be had, against all such that so be endited or openly named wherein I offer myself and will put my endeuour to execute your commandement in the premises, for y^{e} punishing of such offenders, and redresse of y^{e} said misrules to my might and power. And for the hastie execution hereof, like it your highnes to addresse these letters of priue seale and writs to your officers and ministers, to doe, take and arrest all such persons so noysed and endited of what estate, degree, and condition soever they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your prisons, there to abide without baile or mainprise, untill the time they bee vtterly tried, and determined after the course of your lawes.

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[1] conservation.

[The King's answer.]

Cosin, as touching your bill last put vp to vs, we vnderstand well that ye of good heart, counsell aduertise vs to the setting vp of iustice, and to the speedie punishing of some persons endited or noysed, offering your service to be readie at commandement in the same, sith it is that for many causes mouing vs to haue determined in our soule to stablish a sad, and a substantiall Counsell, giuing them more ample authoritie and power than euer we did afore this, in the which we have appointed you to bee one. But sith it is not accustomed sure, nor expedient to take a conclusion and conduct by aduise or counsell of one person by himself for the conseruation, it is obserued that the greatest and the best, the rich and the pore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your[1] voyses be equall: we have therefore determined within our selfe to send for our Chancellor of England and for other Lords of our Counsell, yea and all other, together within short time ripely to commune these and other our great matters, in the which communication, such conclusion by the grace of God shall be taken, as shall found to his pleasure, the weale of vs and our land, as well in these matters as in any other.

92.

[Parliament opened on 6 November. York had gone to Norfolk after his first arrival in London. "Bale's Chron.," ap. Flenley, 137.]

Item the xxiij day of november the seid duk of york w^t iijM men and moo cam riding thurgh the citee his sweerd born a fore him and yede to the parliament and the king. And on the morn folowyng cam riding thurgh the citee the duc of norffolk w^t a greet peple in Brigandiers and vj clarions a fore him blowyng.

Item on the morn suyng came the Erle of Warrewyk thurgh the citee w^t a mighty peple arrived for the werr and the monday the last day of novembr was a marvelous and dredful sturmyng and noys of the comones and of lordes men at Westminster crieng and seieing to the lordes dooth justice upon the fals traitours or lett us be avenged. And upon the morn which was the first day of Decembr the lordes men made a saute upon the duk of Somerset at Blakfreres in London and ther despoilled moch of his goodes but the mair and the comones of the citee gadered a power to geder and remedied hit a noon and elles had the duc be taken or sleyn.

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[1] their.

Item upon the Saterday folowyng the lordes and the jugges sat atte Guyldhall and the mair keping his estate and the king set upon an Oy determyner for the dispouilling of the seid goodes and the same day the said duk was comyt unto the Tour.

93.

[Parliament met again in January, 1451. The Commons demanded the dismissal of certain members of the Royal Household. See below, p. 172. English losses in Aquitaine later in the year provided a fresh cause for an attack upon the administration, and in February, 1452, York asked for support against his rival, Somerset, from the men of Shrewsbury. Ellis, "Original Letters," Series I, vol. i., no. 6 (spelling modernised).]

It is to be supposed it is not unknown to you, how, that after my coming out of Ireland, I . . . advised his Royal Majesty of certain Articles concerning the weal and safeguard, as well of his most royal person, as the tranquillity and conservation of all this his realm: the which Advertisements, how be it that it was thought that they were full necessary, were laid apart, and to be of none effect, through the envy, malice, and untruth of the said Duke of Somerset: Wherefore, worshipful Friends, to the intent that every man shall know my purpose . . . I signify unto you that . . . I, seeing that the said Duke ever prevaileth and ruleth about the King's person, that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed in all haste against him, with the help of my kinsmen and friends; in such wise, that it shall prove to promote ease, peace, and tranquillity, and safeguard of all this land: and more, keeping me within the bounds of my liegaunce as it pertaineth to my duty, praying and exhorting you, to fortify, enforce, and assist me and to come to me with all diligence, wheresoever I shall be, or draw, with as many goodly and likely men as ye may make to execute the intent abovesaid. Written under my signet at my castle of Ludlow, the 3rd day of February. . . .

Youre good Frend,
R. YORK.

To my right worshipful Friends, the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commons of the good town of Shroesbury.

94.

[York marched on London and the King left the city to meet him. They finally met on 3 March, 1452, at Blackheath. "London Chronicle, 1446-52"; Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 297.]

The xxx. yere of Kyng Henry the sixte. This yere on Wednesday the xvj. day of Feverere the kyng with the lordis rode toward the Duke of Yorke for to take hym, because he reised peple to come downe and take the Duke of Somersete; but whan the Duke of Yorke herde here of, he toke another waye and so came toward Lundun. And also sone as the Kynge herde therof he sente letters to the Meir, Aldirmen and comons of Lundun, on seint Mathies day (Feb. 24), that thei schuld kepe the citee and suffre nat the Duke of Yorke to come therin; wherfore was made greet wacche in the citee, the whiche was tolde the Duke of Yorke, wherfore he lefte Lundun wey and wente ouer Kyngston brygge. And on Sonday (Feb. 27) next aftir, that was the first Sonday of Lente, the Kyngis vaward cam to London erly in the mornyng and loggid in Southwerke. And on the Monday after, in the morning thei were remeued fro thens into Kente. And at after none the same day the Kynge came to London with his oost, and so went into Southwerke and loggid at seint Marie Overeys. And the Duke of Yorke picched his ffeld aboute

Dertford whith greet ordinaunce. And whiles the kyng lay stille at seint Marie Overeys bysshoppe[1] rood between the kyng and the Duke of Yorke to sette hem at reste and pees. But the Duke of Yorke seid he wold haue the Duke of Somerset, or elles he wold dye therefore. And on Wednysday (Mar. 1) next folowyng the kyng with his oost rode to Blakheith, and forth ouer Schoters hylle to Wellyng, and ther loggid that day and the morue. And on Thursday at aftir noon ther was maad a poyntement bytwene the Kyng and the Duke of Yorke by the mene of lordis. And on the morue, that was Fryday (Mar. 3) the Kyng ensemblid his oost on the Blake heith afore none; and there abode the comyng of the Duke of Yorke after the poyntement maad ovir evyne. And in Kyngis oost was nombred xx fyghting men, and men seide the Duke of Yorke hadde as many with moche greet stuff and ordinaunce. And att the last the Duke of Yorke cam with xl hors to the Kyng aboute none, and obeyed hym to his ligeaunce; and wyth (him) the Erl of Dewynshire and the lord Cobham, the whiche helde with the Duke of Yorke and were in oost with hym. And the Kynge toke hem to grace and all.

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95.

[York's articles against Somerset. "Paston Letters," i. 103.]

First, I article and declare that the seid Edmond Duc of Somersett hath be meane, consenter, occasioner, cause and mediatour, . . . of the losse and amission of youre Duchie of Normandie, . . .

Item, the seid Edmond Duc of Somersett was cause and consenter voluntarie of the brekyng of the trues and pais for a tyme had betwene youre highnes and youre uncle of Fraunce, which was well understond at the taking of Fogiers in Britaigne by Sir Frannceys Larragonneys thurgh his avise consentement and counseille; . . .

Item, he put away and diminissched diverse garnisons and other strong places of youre seid Duchie of Normandie of soudiers and of men of werre which were accustumed to abide uppon the suerte and saufgarde of the same, . . .

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[1] Possibly bysshoppes. See "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 298, n. 1.

Item, the Duc of Somersett wold yeve noo counseile, aide, ne helpe unto the capitanis of diverse stronge places and garnisons, which at that tyme, constreyned by nede, desired of hym provision and relief, . . .

Item, the said Duc of Somersett hath contrived and ymagined, helped or consented to the grete and importable losse of Cales to be undre the obeisaunce of the Duc of Burgoyn.

96.

[Feeling in the country. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 198.]

Sum what the hertys of the pepyl hyng and sorowyd for that the Duke of Glouceter was dede, and sum sayde that the Duke of Yorke hadde grete wronge, but what wronge there was noo man that darste say, but sum grounyd and sum lowryd and hadde dysdayne of othyr.

97.

[The end of the war in France. (*a*) After the conquest of Normandy, the French turned to Aquitaine, where Shrewsbury was in command of the English forces. Siege of Castillon, July, 1453. J. Chartier, "Chronique de Charles VII, roi de France," iii. 1-7. (Fr.).]

In this same year, on 15 July, the French began to lay siege to the castle of Castillon in Périgord on the river Dordogne which was in the occupation and possession of the English. . . . About daybreak on Wednesday, 17 July, Talbot aforesaid and his followers arrived at the siege, and when the French knew of the coming of the said Talbot, they retreated within the camp, which was well entrenched, as has been said. . . . Meanwhile, Frenchmen were pouring into the camp from all parts and were making preparations for the siege. The gunners were mounting their cannons, culverins, and guns on the trenches directed towards the approaching

English. Whilst this was going on, those within the said town of Castillon found means to inform the said Talbot that if he should advance without further thought and speedily the Frenchmen would flee. But when he arrived, he was much astonished to find the contrary to be the case, and to see the fine fortifications which the said Frenchmen had put up, such trenches, such guns, so strongly parked, and their strong and firm resolve to fight. . . .

Then there began a great and fierce assault; there were great acts of bravery on both sides, hand to hand fighting, and marvellous and valiant struggles with axes, lances and arrows. This battle lasted a full hour. For the English always returned to the attack with great ardour; and the French likewise were not slow to deceive them with courage.

[A Breton army came to the assistance of the French.]

There was there . . . such a fierce struggle, such a clashing of arms, that it was something wonderful to hear. And such were the straits to which the English were driven, that finally they were compelled to flee, as has just been said. And then all their banners were hurled to the ground, and they left many dead on the field, and, amongst others, Talbot's horse was wounded by a cannon-ball so severely that he fell at once to the ground dead; and at the same time Talbot, his master, was thrown under him, and he was instantly killed by some archers. And thus died this famous and renowned English leader, who for so long had been considered the most formidable scourge of the French, and one of the most sworn foes of France, where his name filled all hearts with fear and terror.

[(*b*) The Hundred Years War came to an end with the loss of Bordeaux in October, 1453. *Ibid.*, 17. (Fr.).]

The said town and city of Bordeaux was to be restored and given up to the King of France, and all its inhabitants were to be his true and obedient subjects, and to take an oath never to rebel or rise against the crown of France, and to recognise and affirm the King of France to be their true sovereign lord. Further, the English were to have leave to return in their ships either to England or to Calais as seemed best to them.

And since some of the lords of the said country and city had treacherously, maliciously and fraudulently sent to England for the English aforesaid, a breach of their faith, and of the promise and oath, which they had made to the King in the preceding year, and the king has now by the use of force, and with great trouble, expenditure and cost, recovered the said town, which belongs to him, twenty of these, to be chosen at the King's pleasure, who have sent for the English from England, shall be banished from the country round Bordeaux, amongst whom the chief were the Sires of Esparre and Duras and many other lords.

This agreement was made on 17 September in the said year fourteen hundred and fifty-three.

98.

[In July, 1453, Henry fell ill. Both parties prepared for war. News Letter of John Stodeley, January 19, 1454. "Paston Letters," ii. 295, no. 235.]

As touchyng tythynges, please it you to wite that at the Princes comyng to Wyndesore, the Duc of Buk' toke hym in his armes and presented hym to the Kyng in godely wise, besechyng the Kyng to blisse hym; and the Kyng yave no maner answere. . . .

Item, the Duk of Excestre in his owne persone hathe ben at Tuxforthe beside Dancastre, in the north contree, and there the Lord Egremond mette hym, and thei ij ben sworne togedir, and the Duke is come home agein.

Item, th'erle of Wiltshire, the Lord Beaumont, Ponynges, Clyfford, Egremond, and Bonvyle, maken all the puissance they kan and may to come hider with theym.

Item, Thorpe of th'escheker articuleth fast ayenst the Duke of York, but what his articles ben it is yit unknowen.

Item, Tresham, Josep, Danyelle, and Trevilian have made a bille to the Lordes, desiryng to have a garisone kept at Wyndesore for the saufgarde of the Kyng and of the Prince. . . .

Item, the Duc of Buk' hathe do to be made M^l. M^l. bendes with knottes, to what entent men may construe as their wittes wole yeve theym.

Item, the Duke of Somersetes herbergeour hath taken up all the loggyng that may be goten nere the Toure, in Thamystrete, Martlane, Seint Katerines, Tourehille, and there aboute.

Item, the Queene hathe made a bille of five articles, desiryng those articles to be graunted; wherof the first is that she desireth to have the hole reule of this land; the second is that she may make the Chaunceller, the Tresorere, the Prive Seelle, and alle other officers of this land, with shireves and alle other officers that the Kyng shuld make; the third is that she may yeve alle the bisshopriches of this land, and alle other benefices longyng to the Kynges gift; the iiijth is that she may have suffisant lyvelode assigned hir for the Kyng and the Prince and hir self. But as for the vth article, I kan nat yit knowe what it is.

Item, the Duke of York wole be at Londone justly on Fryday next comyng at night . . . And th'erle of Marche cometh with hym . . . The Erle of Salesbury wille be at London on Monday or Tywesday next comyng with seven score knyghtes and squyers, beside other meynes. The Erles of Warwyk, Richemond, and Pembroke comen with the Duke of Yorke, as it is seide, everych of theym with a godely feliship. . . .

Every man that is of th'opynion of the Duke of Somerset makethe hym redy to be as stronge as he kan make hym. . . . The Duke of Somerset hathe espies goyng in every Lordes hous of this land; some gone as freres, som as shipmen taken on the sea, and som in other wise; which reporte unto hym all that thei kun see or here touchyng the seid Duke. . . .

Writen at London, the xix day of Janvere.

99.

Appointment of the Duke of York as Protector, April 3, 1454. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, vi. 159.]

Appointment, during pleasure, by advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and of the commonalty of England in the present Parliament, in consideration of the King's infirmity, whereby his attendance to the protection of the realm and church of England would be tedious and prejudicial to his swift recovery, of Richard, Duke of York, as protector and defender of the realm and church and principal councillor of the King, according to an act made in the said Parliament on the date of these presents, the authority of the Duke ceasing when Edward, the King's first-born son, arrive at years of discretion, if he shall then wish to take upon himself the charge of protector and defender.

100.

[In December, 1454, Henry recovered, and Somerset was released from the Tower in March, 1455. Rymer, xi. 361-2. Rot. Pat., 33 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 22.]

The fourth Day of March, the yere etc. xxxiii at Greenwich in the High Presence of our Sovereign Lord the King, being there present the Lords of his Councill, . . . Edward, Duc of Somerset recited and opened that He, in the time of the Disease of Oure Soveraigne Lord, was Committed to the Toure of London, and there kepte be the space of one hole Yere, Ten woks and more, and as he conceived, without any reasonable Ground or lawefull Processe, . . . till the seventh Day of Feverer last passed, at which Day he was by the Lordes of the Counsaill Committed to Baille, undre the which he is yet now: And for so much he humbly besought the King's good grace . . . that his said Baylle myght be Discharged, and He to be at his full Fredome as the King's feithfull trewe Subgitte, the which he has ever be and ever shold . . .

The which Rehersall and Desire made by the said Duc of

Somerset, it pleased the King our said Soveraign Lord's good grace to saye, that he knewe well the said Duc hath be, and is his True and Feithfull Liegeman and Cousin, and doone unto him right true, good, and pleasaunt service; and therefore, in presence of all the Lordes abovesaid, and divers others openly declared the seid Duc of Somerset his feithfull and true Liegeman and Subgitte, to the whiche noe Persone said contrarie, willyng it were known and understand that he so taketh and reputeth him.

101.

[Letter from Richard, Earl of Salisbury, to the Prior of Erdebury, 7 March, 1455, repudiating the charges of disloyalty against himself, York, and Warwick and asking for the good offices of the Queen in the matter B.M. MS. Cott. Vesp., F. xiii., Art. 64.]

Reverent father in God and my Right especial frende I recomaunde me to yow, and in my right hertie and faithfull wise thanke yow of al your true and grete diligences and undelaied devowe, yat ye have many tymes put yow in at my special request and prayer to that that myght serve to thobteignyng of my right fervent desire to knowe and fele the good ladiship of the Quene our soverein lady to me hir humble true servaunt and in especial of yor grete labour in that bihalve sith my last speche with you, as by yore lettres brought me by the berer of thies. I conceive at large wherin among othre thing is contened yor desire and exhortacion me not to varye from yat I have promitted hertofore right largely by yow openned to hir seid highnesse and yet I see ye nat dishonored of yor reportes in yat bihalve wherunto will ye wit yat of eny promysse yat I have made unto yow at eny tyme for my declaracon unto the said highnesse, and to have and stand in ye favours of hir good grace for the whiche oon of my moost erthly desires I pray yow as tendrely as I can to contynue therin yor good will and devour for my singuler consolacon. I shal at al tymes kepe yow or eny othre yat labour for me to yat entent undishonored and nat to varie fro my said promisses with Godes mercie, and as toward the blessed disposicion of the said good grace yet unto that that myght serve to rest and unitee comprised in hir gracious letters late directed to my lordes of the Counseille wherof to my grete joy I have herd and God shal I doubt nat be pleased therwith and prospre hir hie estate and the said lordes nat oonly bot also al thos whoome the matiere of the said blessed lettres touchen owe humbly and lowly to yeve laude and thonke to hir said highnesse therfore as that I doo in my moost humble wise as soo on my bihalve as hir true servaunt w^{t} al myn hert and service in that that mowe bee to hir hie pleasure. I pray yow to declar me unto hir said grace and wher in yor said lettres it is expressed that ye have herd language of accusations of ryght hie estates to be made by my lord of York my son of Warrewic and me in materes that have not be disclosed here bifore to their grete rebuke etc. truely it is to my grete mervail by whate coloure reson or grounde eny such language by eny personne erthly myght bee uttred or saied, for as for myn own partie as I wol aunswere to our lord I never ymagined, thought, ore saied eny suche matere or eny thing like therunto in my dayes, and in like wise I dare woll say for my said lord and son as ferr as ever I herd or in eny wise knewe unto this houre as I doubte nat thai wol at al tymes right largely declaire theim silf and therfore therin or in eny othere concernyng my trouth I pray yow alway to aunswere largely for me and if there bee thing that I may doo to yor wele certifieth me and ye shal to the perfouring ther of fynde me ryght hertly disposed as our lord knoweth, which have yow ever in his blessed keping writen at London ye vii day of marche.

Yor good frende Richard Erl of Salisbury.

In dorso.

To the reverent father in God and my right especial and tendre frende the Priour of Erdebury.

102.

[After the release of Somerset, York collected his forces and despatched the following letter written by himself and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from Royston, on 20 May. The letter, however, never reached him. Rot. Parl., v. 281.]

For as moche as we understonde that other Lordes of this lande have be late sent fore, by the Kynges commaundement under his Letters, to comen unto his Counsail privately late called at Westmynstre, wherunto we have not been among the said Lordes called, we conceyve a jelosy had ayenst us, wherof we purpose with Goddes grace to declare us, and to shewe us such as wee be in oure trouthe, duetee and ligeaunce, to oure said Soveraine Lord. . . . Furthermore, we . . . require you . . . that ye standyng the Fadre and Metropolitan of the Chirche of Englond, wol at oure request make oute with all possible diligence, the censures of the Chirche, . . . uppon and ayenst all thaim that entende any untrouth, prejudice, hurt or derogation ayenst the estate, prosperite and welfare of oure said Soveraine Lord, or his said land. And that this oure Lettre of oure entent God knoweth, wherin we trust ye wol be partiner, and therof require you of the feith, trouth and duetee that ye owe to God, to oure said Soveraine Lord, his said land and people, it wol like you to shewe and ministre unto his high Excellence, and to the Lordes of his Counsail, makyng also oure said entent to be shewed to all other to whom it apperteigneth by youre wisdome, for the removyng and overthrawyng of the cedicious and fraudelent blaspheme and defaime untruly savyng youre reverence leyed upon us, oure Lord knoweth.

103.

[The King advanced northwards to meet the Yorkists, and sent the following demand for help. "The Coventry Leet Book," E.E.T.S., 282.]

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well; and for certen grete causes moevyng us and toucheng right nygh our persone and astat, we wyll and desire your at [as?] our speciall trust is in you, that ye, acompanyed withe suche felishep as ye goodely may in their best and most defensable way to do vs seruice . . . faile not to be with you [? us] wheresoeuer we be in all hast possibull. Yeven undur our signet at our palece of Westmynstre the xviij day of May (1455).

And this letter was delyvered to the Mayre be the hondes of John Metyngham the xxij day of that next folloueng the date of this letter, and the meyre gave hym vjs. viijd. in the name of a reward.

Wherapon the seide meire, the tenoure of this letter be hym well considered lat calle to come afore hym the counsell of this Cite withe his bredurn afore whom this letter was redde and . . . thei ordeyned that an hundred of goode-menne defensabully with bowes and arowes, jakked and saletted,[1] arayd, shuld be made redy in all haste possibull to go to our soverenne lorde to seint Albones and to abide withe hym, and to do hym seruice suche at hit shuld please his highnes to comaunde hem to do.

104.

[First battle of St. Albans, 22 May, 1455. Copy of part of a letter written from Bruges to the Archbishop of Ravenna, 31 May, 1455. Cal. State Papers, Milan, i. 16.]

Postscript on the 3rd of June. I have further news of the battle in England brought by one who came here from Calais. They say that on the 21st of May the King left Westminster with many lords, including the Duke of Somerset, to hold a council at Leicester, eight[y?] miles from London. They went armed because they suspected that the Duke of York would also go there with men at arms. That day they travelled twenty miles to the Abbey of S. Albans. On the 22nd the King set out to continue his journey, but when they were outside the town they were immediately attacked by York's men, and many perished on both sides. The Duke of Somerset was taken and forthwith beheaded. With his death the battle ceased at once and, without loss of time, the Duke of York went to kneel before the King and ask pardon for himself and his followers, as they had not done this in order to inflict any hurt upon his Majesty but in order to have Somerset. Accordingly the King pardoned them, and on the 23rd the King and York and all returned to London. On the 24th they made the solemn procession, and now peace reigns. The King has forbidden anyone to speak about it upon pain of death. The Duke of York has the government, and the people are very pleased at this.

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[1] sallet = light head-piece.

105.

[Parliament met on July 9, 1455, and the Yorkists were pardoned. Rot. Parl., v. 282.]

The xxiiii day of Juyll, the xxxiii yere of oure Soveraine Lord Kyng Henry the vi^{te}, at Westm', in the grete Counsaill Chambre, tyme of Parlement, in the presence of oure said Soveraine Lord, the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, in shewyng theire trouth, feith and love that they have and bere to his Highnesse, every Lord Spirituell leiyng his hond uppon his brest, and every Temporell Lord takyng oure said Soveraine Lord be the hande, frely sware and promitted in manere and fourme that folowith.

I promitte unto youre Highnesse by the Feith, and trouth that I owe to God, and to you, that I shall truely and feithfully kept the Ligeaunce that I owe unto you my most Soveraine Lord, and to put me in my devoir to do all that may be to the welfare, honour and saufgard of youre most noble persone, and roiall estate, preeminence and prerogative: and I shall at no tyme will or consent to that myght in eny wyse be or sowne to the hurte or prejudice of youre said most noble Persone, Dignitee, Corone or Estate. And over that, I shall with all my power, resiste and withstonde all theim that wold in eny wyse presume to attempte the contrarie. So God me help and his Seyntes.

106.

[In November the King again became ill, and York was appointed Protector for the second time. Rot. Parl., v. 287.]

For as moche as it was uppon Monday last passed declared by the seid Chanceler, to the Communes that be come to this present Parlement, that how at theire request and desire; the Kyng, by th' advis of the seid Lordes, had named the seid Duc of York to be Protectour and Defensour of this land. . . . The said Duc of York saide to all the Lordes; that howe be it that it liked theire good Lordshippes to desire and name hym to that name and charge, he shuld not take that name and charge uppon hym of presumption of hymself, but onely of the obeissaunce that he oweth to the Kyng our Soverain Lord, and to the Lordes as the apparage of this lande; and he to perfourme theire desires, under theire supportation and aide, wuld take, and toke uppon hym, the name and charge of Protectour of this lande, under suche protestations as he had made and were aggreed by the seid Lordes.

107.

[War with Scotland. (*a*) The Scots took advantage of the state of England to invade the country. "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 70.]

This yere the kynge of Scottys with the red face layde sege to Berwyke bothe by water and londe. But he was dryve thensse, and all his ordenaunce and vitayle that was on the water syde lefte be hynde them.

[(*b*) Attempt of the Scots to secure assistance from the French. Letter from James II of Scotland to Charles VII of France, June, 1456. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S., i. 323. (Lat.).]

For we have heard of the great and serious quarrel there is between the King of England on the one side, and the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, and others with them, on the other, . . . for these causes and on account of this quarrel, it seems to us a suitable time to send a hostile force into the realm of England to the advantage of the kingdoms of France and Scotland . . . and if we now let this opportunity slip away, it is not to be hoped that such a one will ever be presented to us again. For this, and for other reasons which have weighed with us, we have promised the most renowned Duke of York aforesaid to help and assist him in this quarrel concerning the insignia and crown of England, as he has tenderly desired of us by sending to us honourable ambassadors and letters.

108.

[**Letter from John Bocking to Sir John Fastolf, 9 February, 1456. "Paston Letters," iii. 74, no. 322.**]

This day my Lordes York and Warwyk comen to the Parlement in a good aray, to the noumbre of iijc. men, all jakkid and in brigantiens, and noo lord elles, wherof many men mervailed. . . .

The Kyng, as it was tolde me by a grete man, wolde have hym chief and principall counceller, and soo to be called hise chef counceller and lieutenant as longe as hit shuld lyke the Kyng; and hise patent to be made in that forme, and not soo large as it is by Parlement. But soome men thinken it wil ner can otherwise bee; and men speke and devyne moche matere of the comyng this day in suche array to Westminster. And the Lordes speken this day in the Parlement of a greet gleymyng sterre that but late hathe be seen diverse tymes, merveilous in apperyng. The resumpsion, men truste, shall forthe, and my Lordes of Yorkes first power of protectorship stande, and elles not, etc. The Quene is a grete and stronge labourid woman, for she spareth noo peyne to sue hire thinges to an intent and conclusion to hir power. . . .

Written in your place this Moneday of Fastyngange,[1] m^{l}cccclv.

Your humble servant,
J. B.

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[1] Shrove-tide.

109.

[From a letter from John Bocking to John Paston, June 7, 1456. "Paston Letters," iii. 91, no. 334.]

As for tidings, the Kyng is at Shene, the Quene at Chestre; the Duke of Buk was, as I come hiderward, at Writell, the Erle of Warrewyke at Werrewyke, and the Lords Chaunceller, Tresorier, and th' Erle of Sar'[1] in London, and noo more Lords at the begynnyng this day of the grete Counsail. Many men say that there shuld be, but thei wote not what. The sege shall as men say, come to Caleys and to Guynes, for moche puple come overe the water of Somme, and grete navies on the sea.

Th' Erle of Penbroke is with the Kyng, and noo more lordis. Th' Erle of Richemond and Griffith Suoh are at werre gretely in Wales. The Comons of Kent, as thei werre wo[n]tte, er not all weel disposid, for there is in doyng amongs hem what evere it bee. Of Scotts is here but litell talkyng. My lord York is at Sendall stille, and waytith on the Quene and she up on hym.

110.

[Condition of the country in 1456. First version of "J. Hardyng's Chron.," "Eng. Hist. Rev.," xxvii. 749.]

In euery shire with Jakkes and Salades clene
Myssereule doth ryse and maketh neyghbours werre;
The wayker gothe benethe, as ofte ys sene,
The myghtyest his quarell wyll preferre,
That pore mennes cause er putte on bakke full ferr;
Whiche thrugh the pese and law wele consерned
Myght bene amende, and thanke of God deserued.

They kyll your men alway by one and one,
And who say ought he shall be bette doutlesse;
For in your Reme Justyse of pese bene none
That darr ought now the contekours oppresse;
Suche sekenesse now hath take thaym and accesse,
Thay wyll noght wytte of Ryot ne debate,
So comon is it now in eche estate.

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[1] Salisbury.

111.

[In August, 1457, the French attacked Sandwich. Letter from the King, September 5, 1457, in reply to one from the City offering to fit out ships, then in the Thames, with men to assist in repelling the French. "Letter Book K," fo. 292.]

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you oftentymes wele and lete you write that this same day . . . we have understande the fervent desire and true ligeance that ye tendirly and humbly bere unto our Royal estate, the whiche hath gretely renoveled and recomforted us wherof as wele as of the notable aide that ye have graunted at this tyme unto us in right notable nombre of men of werre, shippes and all other necessaires expedient for thaym to the repressing and rebuke of thoutrageous malice of our enemyes of Fraunce, nowe travarssing the narwe Se, as it is saide, we thank you with as good wille and hert as we can trusting for undoubted and also praying you that considering this somer season passeth fast, ye wille in alle possible haste prepare and advance yor saide exploit.

112.

[Letter from J. Bokking, 15 March, 1458. "Paston Letters," iii. 127, no. 366.]

To my Maister Fastolf, at Castre, in haste.

Lyke it your maistership to wyte that, as for tidings, the Counsell is, in the fornone, at the Blake Frires, for the ease of resorting of the Lordys that are withinne the toun; and at afternone at the White Frirers in Fletestrete, for the Lordis withowte the toun; and all thing shall come to a good conclusion with God his grace, for the Kyng shall come hidre this weke, and the Quene also, as some men sayn, and my Lord Buk', and Stafford with hire, and moche puple. . . .

Writen at London the Wednesday after Midlenton. . . .

Your humble servaunt,

J. BOKKING.

[An agreement was reached between the two parties on 24 March.]

113.

[From a letter from John Jernyngan to Margaret Paston, 1 June, 1458. Warwick was Captain of Calais. "Paston Letters," iii. 129, no. 369.]

On trenite Sonday (May 28), in the mornyng, came tydings unto my Lord of Warwyke that ther were xxviij sayle of Spaynyards on the se, and wherof ther was xvj. grete schippis of forecastell; and then my lord went and manned fyve schippis of forecastell, and iij. carvells,[1] and iiij. spynnes,[2] and on the Monday, on the mornyng eftyr Trinite Sonday, we met to gedyr afore Caleis, at iiij. at the clokke; and ther we toke vj. of her schippis, and they slowe of oure men aboute iiij^{xx} and hurt a ij. hondred of us ryght sore; and ther wer slayne on theyr parte abowte xij^{xx} and hurt a v hondred of them. . . . And as men sayne, ther was not so gret a batayle upon the se this xl. wyntyr. And for sothe, we wer well and trewly bette; and my Lord hathe sent for mor scheppis, and lyke to fyzthe to gedyr agayne in haste.

114.

[By 1459 the two parties were once more arming. "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 79.]

In this same tyme, the reame of Englonde was oute of alle good governance, as it had be meny dayes before, for the kyng was simple and lad by couetous counseylle, and owed more then he was worthe. His dettes encreased dayly, but payment was there none; alle the possessyons and lordeshyppes that perteyned to the croune the kyng had geuen awey, some to lordes and some to other simple persones, so that he had almoste noughte to lefe onne. And suche ymposiciones as were put to the peple, as taxes, tallages, and quynzymes,[3] alle that came from theym was spended on vayne, for he helde no householde ne meyntened no warres. For these mysgouernaunces, and for many other, the hertes of the peple were turned away from thayme that had the londe in gouernance, and theyre blyssyng was turnyd in to cursyng.

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[1] Small light ships.

[2] Pinnaces.

[3] Fifteenths.

The quene with such as were of her affynyte rewled the reame as her lyked, gaderyng ryches innumerable. The offices of the reme, and specially the erle of Wylshyre tresorere of Engelond for to enryche hymself, peled the pore peple, and disheryted ryghtefulle eyres, and dede meny wronges. The quene was defamed and desclaundered, that he that was called Prince was nat hir sone, but a bastard goten in avoutry; wherefore she dreding that he shulde nat succede hys fadre in the croune of Englond, allyed vnto her alle the knyghtes and squyers of Chestreshyre for to haue theyre benyuolence, and helde open householde among theym; and made her sone called the Prince geue a lyuery of Swannys to alle the gentilmenne of the contre, and to many other thorought the lande; trustyng thorough thayre streynghte to make her sone kyng; makyng pryue menys to some of the lordes of Englond for to styre the kyng that he shulde resygne the croune to hyre sone: but she coude nat bryng her purpos aboute.

115.

[Letter to the people of Beverley, 11 September, 1459. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Report on the MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, 139. From the Town Minute Book.]

By the King.

Trusty and well beloved, We have understande by dayly report made to us how divers persons of the northe partes of this our Reaume make great assembles and gaderyng of people for what cause we understande not, How be it that it cannot be thought but it sowneth greetly to the trouble and subverting of our pees and lawes. Forsomuch we, of the greet and singuler truste that we have in you, wil, desire, pray you specially, and also charge you, that with alle thee might and strength that ye can make ye addresse you towardes oure persone in alle haste, to entende and assiste us with other our trewe subyects to the rebuking and setting of parte of tho that wold anything presume to attempte ayenste oure persone or our saide pees and lawes . . . yeven under oure prive seel at oure castel of Kenilworth the xi day of Septembre. To oure trusty and well beloved the Bailiff and Burgeys of the toune of Beverlay.

[The twelve governors thereupon dispatched armed men and archers and arranged for the raising of a loan.]

116.

[According to Stow, Warwick issued this manifesto on his return from Calais in 1459. B.M. MS. Harley 543, fo. 164. For a similar one issued in 1460, see "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 86-90.]

1. For as moche as the comon weale and the good politike lawes here aforen notably and vertuously vsed ordeyned for the kepinge and mayntayninge of the sayde comon wele, the rest and peas of the Realme, the cource of marchandyse, the due and evenly minystringe of justice and rightuysnesse with in the land bene pitiouslye ovarturned and as who saythe forgotten.

2. Also for that the mighty croune of our sovereyne lord is so unmesurably and outrageously spoyled and robbed from his lyvelods and pocessyons pertayninge there unto wherethrughe his estate shuld be susteyned in as greate honor and might as his noble progenitors have bene here afor so that in these dayes unnethe eny groundes may be found all onle for the sustentation of his houshold thoroghe all many othar greate charges of necessitie be required for his estate but by unlefull meanes depeynablye and agaynst all gods lawe be sought by novelries by one way unto the greate hurte of marchants and by an othar waye opon the pore people grete extorcion of theyr goods and cattalls by the minstars of the Kyngs housholde without payment, contrary to Gods pleasure and the land's lawe, etc.

3. Also for that the greate abhominable mordars, roberies, periuries and extorcions in many wyse with maynteynaunces of the same openly used and continued in the realme with

greate violence be not punished but favoured and cherished ne drede there in had vnto god 'ne the churche, ne the ministars here in there of spared or obeyed, ne the verrey and due regarde yevne vnto the Kynge to his lawes or commaundements to his personee in his counseyle ne to the lordes spirituall or temporall in his counsell, ne to hys juges or officers in his lawe settinge in execution of the same, etc.

4. Allso that where our soveraigne lord of his blesed convarsation is of his oune noble dispositon as gracieusli aplied to the sayd comon wele and to the reformynge of these promises as ane prince Christen yet certayne parsones for theire owne covetise there singuler Reule and there propre wille they have to shewe theyre vttermost malice agaynst suche as god knouithe bene the verreye lovars of the saym comon wele and of the profite that therby shuld growe vnto the Kinge subtily and craftely shadowe and hyd all thire promises from his knowlege.

5. Also for so moche as no land Christian may longe endure in prosperity where of the prince is so robbed of his lyvelode and knowethe not the wrecchednese of his land and subiects thovarthrowinge of his lawes and good rules thexile of justice out of it, the great hurte of marchandise ne the continuell murders robberes periuryes extorcions, and maynteynaunces there of, ne the violent malice of persons so rigorously disposed but that neds it muste fall to ruene and not may be holpen without that the sufficiaunt and convenient remedies be the hastelyar founden and purveyed therefore.

We therefore seyne these muscheves so perilous and therto know vnto our enemyes out of this land, where vpon it is demed they take corage tenterprise the subduinge and losse of all the land for the tendar love that we bere vnto the comon wele and prosperitie of this realme and proudly to the Kynges estate, dispose vs with lords of lyke disposicion as with the grace of God and goo vnto the presence of our sayd sovereygne lord and as true subiects and liegmen lovars of the sayde comon wele, and lovars of the honor of his estate showe ther vnto the inconvenients above rehersed and there vpon to beseche his good grace as lowly as we can that he will vouchsave to redeme his land and subgets from the ieopardye of the sayd mischeves, and by thadvice of the grete lords of his blood that it will lyke hym to put his moaste truste noble persons in devoure to the redresse of the same and to punyshe evenly the causes of the sayde myscheves aftar theyr desawetes and demerites in example of all other here aftar, and that it will please his good grace tordeyne suche governaunce for thobservynge of his lovars here aftar reste of his land and subiects for supportinge of his sayde royall estate for the course of merchaundise and for the chastisyng of suche errours and mischeves afore rehersed to thentent that his subiects love, obeye, and drede his estate and lawes as ever aforne they have done, and his enemyes to be put in as greate fere of his might as ever they were of any of his progenitors wherby he his land and people may growe to as greate worshipe and profyte as they have bene holden of aforene amonges all cristen Realmes, where vpon we notifie vnto you that to this entente we woll employ our persons and labours about the Kyngs moste noble person and there to be assystaunt yf it be his pleasure nor presuminge to take vpon vs any private rule or entre into eny mattar betwene eny estate of this land and any of vs or to eny quarelle or revengement othar then lawe woll but only entendynge with gods mercye to the performinge and accomplishinge the causes afore seyde, etc.

117.

[Battle of Blore Heath, 23 September, 1459. "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 72.]

The Erle of Warwyke came from Caleys thorowe London, and the Erle of Salysbery went from Medlame for to mete withe the Duke of Yorke and Warwyke his sonne with iiij M^1 men, and the quene lay by the wey with xiiij M^1 men to stoppe his wey. And he toke a felde manly at Blorehethe the xxiii day of Septembre, and faught and slowe many and put the remnant to flight, and helde forthe his wey in purpos to Ludlowe, where Kynge Henry came with l M[1] men a gayne the Duke of Yorke, the Erle of Marche, the Erle of Rotlonde, the Erle of Warwyke, the Erle of Salysbury, the whiche never entendid to be otherwyse than feythefull and trewe liege men to the kynge, but crowelly were banysshed oute of this londe, and not excepte like as thei were worthi. And so ther departed the Duke of Yorke and his sonne Rotlond thorowe Godis helpe to Irelonde; and the Erle of Marche, the Erle of Warwyke, and the Erle of Salysbury, and Sir John Wenloke in a litell vessell, Almighti God gided hem oute of the Weste Contre by the see to Calys.

118.

[Parliament met at Coventry on 20 November, 1459, and the Yorkist leaders were attainted. Rot. Parl., v. 349.]

Wherfore please it youre Highnes, these premisses considered, by the advise and assent of youre Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, and of youre Communes, in this youre present Parlement assembled, and by the auctorite of the same, to ordeyne, establish and enact; that the seid . . . Richard Duc of York, Edward Erle of Marche, Richard Erle of Warrewyk, Richard Erle of Salesbury, Edmond Erle Rutlond, (etc.) . . . for their said traiterous reryng of werre ayenst youre seid moost noble persone, at Ludeford afore specified, in the Feldes of the same, in forme afore reherced, be reputed, taken, declared, ajugged, demed, atteynted of high Treson, as fals traitours and enemyes ayenst youre moost noble Persoon, high Mageste, Croune and Dignitee. . . .

The Kyng agreeth to this Acte: so that be vertue therof he be not put fro his prerogatyf, to shewe such mercy and grace as shall please his Highnes, accordyng to his Regalie and Dignitee, to eny persone or persones whos names be expressed in this Acte, or to eny other that myght be hurt be the same.

119.

[A defence of the proscription of the Yorkists, written in the latter part of 1459 or beginning of 1460. B.M. Royal MS., 17 D, xv.; "Eng. Hist. Rev.," xxvi. 512.]

Yf ye tender my desyres ye shall procure an universalle quyet unto you alle, and yf ye dyspyse them to ymportable infortune wolle you comprehende and envyroune withoute hope of delyverance. Tharfor it is good that ye enclyne to myne entente for your syngulere welth and for the generall consolaccion of alle this contre. . . .

It were none other but cruelnes to have mercy apon thamm, the which so many tymes have offended. For in lykewyse as the largycion and yeft of eny other mann his good is called theft in the lawe, so were it grete extorcion and cruelnes to exercyse mercy or myldnes in such thynges as longen alonly to justice and rigoure. And tharfor . . . I say the kynges clemencye and myldnes in this partye were none other but wronge and cruelnes. . . .

Lysten welle to me now. I remembre that amonge many thinges by the whiche the commone welthe of a royame stondyth the most principall is this, a due subjeccion with fayithful and voluntarie honoure and thair appertenaunce to be yolden to the soverain in the sayd royame and that none incompatible astat be usurped by ony personne; also that thay that have undre the kynge a governance of his peple that they ben dylygent to the kepynge of the kynges lawes and that no wronge be done in ony wyse, but that alle controversies and debates civile or criminalle, realle or personale, ben decided by the kynges lawes withoute mayntenance or wylfull interrupcion of the cours of justice, and in cas that ony thinge falle of the whiche the determinacion is not expressed in the common lawe, thann the prince moste be asked and inquired and by his excedyng auctorite and prudens of his conseyle and expikan[1] shal be made tharopon, and so that no thinge be done by singular wylle and senceall affeccion. . . .

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[1] ? explication, *op. cit.*, 518 n. 19.

Lord God, what reysonable answere may be yef for the lordis, if they be questioned for what cause they cam first ayenst the King into the Blake Heth, afterwardys to Sent Albonn . . . Trow ye they will have procured the commone welth? Certenly I hold him not very tru that thynketh other wyse but that thaire intent was so subverted to commone welthe as it may be proved expressly by thairgument of thar demynynge towardis the kynges peple. . . . All the contres aboute knowen well what extorcions, what injuries and oppressions, what partie makynge and division thay did and caused to be done. How many prive conventicles undir thaire tuicion and support have ben made to the subversion and misdrawynge of many men, and at whos occasion the kyngese peple was daily slayne and murdred. Thes ben notable poyntes of preservynge of the common welth. But here a worde and an ende hereof. In case it hadd be so that the good publique of this royame hath ben vacillant in ony wyse and in perill of decay, what auctorite and pouer had thay to reforme it, the kynge present and not yevynge thaim commyssioun tharof? Ye say perhaps that it longeth to every persoune of the commynalte to oppose himselfe to the ruyne of the good publique. But it is not so whann autoryte laketh. . . .

I woll well that the strynght of eny region stondeth moche in the multitude of good knyghtes. But say thus with me, of good knyghtes and tru, hawynge no syngulere wylfulnesse taccomplesshe thaire owne wylle but oonely that ben condescendynge to the commaundementis of the soueran. Were your lordys of such dysposicion? ye may not say it with trouthe, I wis. Is hit not then better to have fewe or nonne of such as thay ben, than is to amplyfie the nombre of thaim or to suffre hem to abyde. Also for that, that thay ben of olde auncytrie, of grete myght and strenght and gretly in the favoure of the peple: as for the fyrste hit redoundeth the more to thaire abhominable ingratitude and unkyndenes, considerynge that thar furste exordye and begennge cam of the kyngis large munyficence. . . . As for the favoure of the peple thaire is no grounde of sure argument, for by cause hit is so varyable and for the moost parte it groweth of oppynable conceytis, and not of trowith. Hit is a schrewyde consequence: The peple favoureth hem, *ergo* thay be good. . . .

And so I say that for any fere of youre rediculous reisons hit is no nede to yewe hem pardon or mercy, but the rather to exercise aye(n)ste hem all the pointes of rigournes, that may be thoght to thaire irreparable destruccion as I have oftene tymes said her before.

120.

[Illustrations of the incapacity of the Government. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, vi. 576, dated 5 February, 1460.]

Whereas the lordships which came into the King's hands by the forfeiture of Richard, Duke of York, and Richard, Earl of Warwick, are detained from the King's possession by their adherents, and the revenues of divers lordships pertaining to the Prince of Wales are detained from his use by reason such rebellion, the King, to repress the rebellion, has granted to the prince, by advice of the council, 500 marks yearly for life from the issues of the lordships of Uske, Caerlion, Glamorgan, Morgannok and Bergeveny.

121.

[The return of the Yorkists, 1460. (*a*) "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 72.]

This yere the kyng graunted to the Duke of Somersett for to be Capteyne of Caleys. And anone he made him redy thedirwarde; but the Erle of Warwyke was there afore and kepte him that he myght not londe there; and so he was conveyed to Gynes and his pepylle, and assone as he was with in the castell he made stronge werre a gaynes Caleys, and they of Caleys a gaynes him. And then he sent in to Englonde to the kynge for more pepull. And so the kyng sent the Lorde Ryveres and his sonne Antony with iiij^c men for to strenthe the Duke of Somersett. And as they wer at

Sandwyche the Erle of Warwyke had knowleche and a none he made a sawte over with a godely fellaweshippe and londed at Sandwyche, and toke the Lorde Reveres and his sonne and distrussyd all his pepull. And so they were brought to Caleys a yenes her will. . . . And that same tyme Moumfford was made capteyne of iiij^{c} men for to goo helpe the Duke of Somersett. And as they were at Sandwiche the Erle of Warwyke had knowleche of them, and a none he made oute a pussaunce of pepulle and beseged Sandwyche, and wanne the towne, and toke Moumford, and many of his men slayne; and so they led him to Caleys, and so led him to Risebanke, and ther the shipmen smote of his hede, and ij of his men hedis. And sone after came the Erle of Marche, the Erle of Warwyke, the Erle of Salysbury, and Sir John Wenlok, and the Lorde Audeley from Caleys, and londed at Sandwyche; and so they came to London warde and ther mett with hem the Lorde Cobham and other statys and comyns of Kentt, and so they came to London. And the Lorde Scalys was that time in London, and he desired to be capteyn of the cite but the comenys wolde not have him. Then the Lord Scalis, the Lord Lovell, the Erle of Kendale, Thorpe and Broune of Kentt, and many galymen, with other peopulle, went to the Toure of London, and made grete werre a yenes the cite. And in the mene tyme thes other lordes sent to the meire and to the states of the cite for to have all ther hertes. And a none ther was sent sertayne aldermen and comynes for to well come them, and so they came with all ther pussaunce of pepull in to Southwerke. And on the morowe they came to the nombre of xlM^{l}, to London Brigge, and toke doune suche a hedis as wer there, and beryed them at Seint Mangnus; and so they rode forthe to Seint Powlys and ther offred. And there mett with them the Erchebysshope of Cawnterbury withe many other Bysshoppes and the meire and the aldermen with all the states of the Cite; and ther was declared all the poyntis and pardon to al the realme. And than all thos lordis went to the Grey Ferys and helde ther a counsell on the Thorsday. And on the Fryday they went to the Gelde halle, and ther was endited many persones and putt in presone. And sone after rode the Erchebysshoppe of Caunterbury, the Bysshoppe of Excester, and many other bysshoppes, and a legett,[1] and the Erle of Marche, and the Erle of Warywyke, the Lord Faconbryge, the Lorde Bowser and his sonnes, with myche other pepull of Kent, Southesex, and Esex, tawarde the kynge with grete ordenaunce; and the Erle of Salysbury, the Lorde Cobham, and Sir John Wenlock, were lefte in the cite of London with the meire. And forthe with the Lord Cobham and the shoreffes went and laide grete ordenaunce a yenes the Toure on the towne syde, and Sir John Wenlok and Harow mercer, kept on Seint Kateryns side, and myche harme done on bothe parties. And in all placis of London was grete watche for doute of tresoun. And then they skyrmysed to gedir, and myche harme was done dayly. [Battle of Northampton.] And on Thorsdye, the ix[2] day of Julle, was the batayll be syde Northampton in the Newfelde be twene Harryngton and Sandyfforde, and ther was the kynge take in his tente. . . . And than the Erle of Marche, and the Erle of Warwyke, with other lordis, brought the kynge to Northampton with myche rialte. And so the kynge with his lordis came to London. . . . And the Erle of Salysbury rode a yenes the kynge withe myche rialte; and ther was called and sett a Parlement.

[(*b*) The Tower surrendered on 19 July. Reply of the Mayor to Earl of Kendal, Lord Scales, and others in the Tower who had demanded a reason for war being made upon them by Yorkist lords, who were admitted to the city (*circ.* July, 1460). R. R. Sharpe, "London and the Kingdom," iii. 384, from Journal 6, fo. 250*b*.]

We answere and seye that ye and your ffelesship have began and made no[3] werre by diverse assault shetyng of gonnez and otherwise by the which the kinges treu liege people aswell the inhabitauntz of this Citee men, women and children as other have be murdred slayn maemed and myschefed in sundry wise. And soo that that hath be doon by us is onely of youre occasioun in oure defence. And suche as we take for prisouners been for the attemptatz occasiouns and assaultz by theym doon as aforesaid in breche of the kinges peas, and for dispoillyng of the kinges treu people of their vitaillz and goodes without due contentacion or paiement hadde in that behalve contrary to good equite and all lawe.

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[1] Francesco Coppini, Bishop of Terni.

[2] Should be 10th.

[3] *Sic.*

122.

[Coppini wished to induce the English to invade France, in order to prevent French interference in Naples, Sforza being an opponent of the Angevin claimant to the throne who was supported by the French King. Coppini had given his support to the Yorkists as the best means of securing this. Cal. State Papers, Milan, i. 29, no. 40. Written in sympathetic ink between the lines of a letter from Francesco Coppini, Bishop of Terni, Papal Legate, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. Dated 6 August, 1460.]

If the lords here, the kinsmen of the king, who through my hands have won back the state, had some incitement, they would go to France with a considerable force to vindicate the claims of this kingdom.

They would like to see honours conferred upon me, as that would produce a good impression, especially among the people. If this is obtained they believe that in a month they could collect 100,000 men, without effort, because I collected so many in a week, when I delivered them in my house these last days, through the great authority of the Church and also of my legation. . . . I can assure you that in a few days I hope a marriage alliance will be concluded between the Duke of Burgundy and these lords, kinsmen of the king here, which will be very àpropos of the matter above.

123.

[Parliament met on 7 October, 1460. Rot. Parl., v. 374.]

To the Kyng oure Soverayne Lord; Prayen the Commens in this present Parlement assembled. That where divers seditious and evill disposed persones, noo regard havyng to the drede of God, ne to the hurt of the prosperous estate of youre moost noble persone, ne of this youre Realme, Synesterly and ymportunely laboured youre Highnes, to somon and calle a Parlement to be holden at youre Citee of Coventre, the xx day of Novembr', the yere of youre noble reigne xxxviiith, oonly to th' entent to distroy certayne of the grete, noble and faithful and true Lordes and estates of youre blode, and other of youre true Liege people of this youre Realme, . . . which Parlement was unduely sommoned, and a grete parte of the Knyghts for dyvers Shyres of this your Realme, and many Citizeins and Burgeys for dyvers Citees and Burghs, apperyng in the same, were named, retourned and accepted som of theym without dieu and free election, and som of theym withoute any election, ayenst the cours of youre lawes, and the libertees of the Commens of this youre Realme, by the mean and labour of the seid seditious persones; . . .

Please it youre Highnes to considre the premisses, and . . . to ordeyne, enacte, establish, by th' avis and assent of the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell in this present Parlement assembled, and by auctorite of the same, that the seid Parlement holden at youre seid Citee of Coventre, be voide and taken for noo Parlement; and that all Acts, Statutis, and Ordenaunces, by the autorite of the same made, be reversed, adnulled, cassed, irrite, repeled, revoked, voide, and of noo force ne effect. . . .

Le Roy le voet.

[The Duke of York then set forth his claim to the throne. See I. D. Thornley, "England under the Yorkists," 1-7.]

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BOOK II. CONSTITUTIONAL.

A. PARLIAMENT.

1.

[From a case heard in the Exchequer Chamber in which The Master of the Rolls was summoned to give information as to proceedings in Parliament. Year Books, ed. R. Tottell, 33 Hen. VI, fo. xvii. (Fr.).]

If any bill, be it private or otherwise, be first presented to the Commons and is passed by them, it is customary for the bill to be endorsed in this form: Be it delivered to the Lords. And if the King and the Lords agree to the bill, and do not wish to alter or change it in any way, it is not the custom for them to endorse the bill, but it is given to the clerk of Parliament to be enrolled, and if it is a common bill it is enrolled and enacted, but if it is a private bill it is not enrolled but is filed on the file and that is sufficient, but if the party wishes to have it entered in order to be more secure, it may be enrolled. And if the Lords wish to make any change in the bill, if the change is such that the Commons have already agreed to it, then it is not returned to the Commons; thus, if the Commons grant Tunnage and Poundage for four years, and the Lords consent to the grant, but only for two years, then it is not returned to the Commons because their consent may be assumed, but if, on the other hand the Commons make a grant of Tunnage and Poundage or of something similar for two years, and the Lords prolong the grant to four years, in this case the bill must be returned to the Commons, and the Lords must draw up a note of their intention or else must endorse the common bill to this effect—

The assent of the Lords is given for a period of four years. And when the bill has been returned to the Commons, if they do not wish to agree to it then it may not be enacted; but if the Commons wish to agree with the Lords, then the Commons endorse their answer on the margin at the bottom of the bill in this form: The Commons have agreed to the note of the Lords attached to this bill; and then it is delivered to the clerk of Parliament. And if a bill is first of all presented to the Lords and is passed, then it is not the custom for them to endorse it in any way but it is sent to the Commons, and in such a case, if the bill passes the Commons it is endorsed by them in this form: The Commons have assented; and this proves that the bill has first passed the Lords.

2.

[Distinction between Statutes and "other acts" of Parliament. Nicolas, "Proc.," iii. 22. (Lat.).]

On the same day (23 Jan., 1423) were read by the clerk of Parliament, in the presence of the Lords, the acts drawn up and passed in the last Parliament. He was commanded to show the said acts to the King's justices of both benches, in order that they might determine which should be statutes, and that a fair copy might be made of them and that they might afterwards be shown to the Lords and proclamation made of them. And of the other acts touching the administration of the Lords of the Council and the governance of the realm a copy was to be made by the clerk of the King's Council, and all the copies were to be enrolled in the Chancery as the custom is.

3.

[Protestation of the Commons against the enrolment of an act in a form different from that which had been determined in Parliament, 1401. Rot. Parl., iii. 465. (Fr.).]

On Thursday, the said Commons showed to our Lord the King, how that on the Wednesday last, that is to say on

9 March, the Commons had particularly shown him that the article concerning the modification and the Statute of Provisors, made in the last Parliament, held in the first year of his reign, had been otherwise enacted and enrolled on the Roll of Parliament than had been determined in this last Parliament aforesaid. Whereupon the Commons requested our said Lord the King, that this matter might be examined by the Lords spiritual and temporal then in Parliament. This request the King granted; protesting however, that it was not the King's will, that any such examination should be made after such record had been made in Parliament, and that this should not be cited as an example or precedent at any future time.

4.

[The Commons demand that answers to petitions be given before a grant is made, 1401. Rot. Parl., iii. 458. (Fr.).]

The said Commons showed our said Lord the King that, in many Parliaments held before this time, they had had no answer to their common petitions until they had made a grant of an aid or subsidy to our Lord the King, and for this reason requested our said Lord the King, that for the greater satisfaction and comfort of the said Commons he would be pleased to concede that the said Commons might be informed of the answers to these said petitions before they should make any grant. Upon this they were informed that in this matter the King wished to consult with the Lords of Parliament, and to do that which seemed best to him according to the counsel of the Lords. Later, that is to say on the last day of Parliament, they were informed that it had never been the habit or custom in the time of his father or predecessors, to give them any answer to their petitions, or any information concerning them, until they had dealt with and concluded all the other matters of the Parliament, whether it were the making of a money grant or otherwise. And further the King would not in any way change the good customs and usages of old times,

5.

[The Commons' assertion that they form no part of Parliament considered as a Court of Law, 1399. Rot. Parl., iii. 427. (Fr.).]

The Commons . . . requested the King, that since the judicial business of Parliament appertains only to the King and the Lords, and not to the Commons, unless it shall please the King, of his special favour, to inform them, for their satisfaction, of particular judicial matters, that no record might be made in Parliament against the liberties of the said Commons, showing that they are or shall be parties to any judicial decisions given or to be given in Parliament. To this they received an answer from the Archbishop of Canterbury, by command of the King, that the Commons are petitioners and demandants, and that the King and Lords have had from all time, and shall have the right of conducting judicial business in Parliament, as the Commons have said, save that for the making of a statute or of a money grant or subsidy, or for such matters as are done for the common welfare of the realm, the King particularly requires their counsel and assent.

6.

[Summons of Parliament during the King's absence. Stat. 8 Hen. V, c. 1. S.R., ii. 203.]

It is ordained and stablished, that if in time to come, our said Sovereign Lord the King, being beyond the sea, cause to summon his Parliament in this realm by his writs under the teste of his Lieutenant . . . and after the Summons of such Parliaments gone out of Chancery, our Sovereign Lord the King arrive in this realm, that for such arrival of the same our Sovereign Lord, such Parliament shall not be dissolved but in the same afterward our Sovereign Lord the King shall proceed without new summons of the same.

7.

[Answers to Parliamentary petitions during the King's absence from England, 1420. Rot. Parl., iv. 128. (Fr.).]

The Commons request, that it may please our most high and mighty prince the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of England, to ordain by the authority of this present Parliament, that all the petitions presented by the said Commons to the said most high and mighty Protector of England in this present Parliament, may be answered and decided upon within this realm of England, and during the sitting of this present Parliament.

"Soit advisee par le roy."[1]

8.

[Connection between members and their constituents. Parliament is prorogued because Christmas is approaching and for the following reason, 17 December, 1423. Rot. Parl., iv. 200. (Fr.).]

That the commons aforesaid may, each of them, declare and expound to his neighbours in his county or borough[2] the great needs of the country, such as had been shown and declared to them by the said lords of Parliament, in order that, the said needs being explained to and known by the whole commonalty of the realm, they may take them to heart the more lovingly and tenderly, and the more readily provide a remedy.

9.

[Remonstrance addressed by the King to the Lords spiritual and temporal for non-attendance in Parliament, 15 December, 1455, Nicolas, "Proc.," vi. 279.]

By the King.

Trusty and welbeloved. Ye untrestande right wel that for grete causes and considerations concernyng the wele of us ure landes and subgettes we ordeyned this oure present Parlement to be assembled, and directed unto you as a lorde of this our reame oure writte charging you to come to oure said Parlement and willed you to have entended to ye same, trustyng ye wold so have doon according to youre dutee . . . notwithstandinge ye have forborne youre attendaunce to oure saide Parlement beyng absent at youre plesire, not taking to hert so tenderly ye wele of us as we supposed ye wolde have doo. For somoche we wolle and charge you that puttyng aside all excusations ye come and be at oure palois of Westminstre the xiiij. day of January next commyng there to entende with othre upon oure saide Parlement to the whiche day we have prorogued the same, latyng you wite if ye doo not soo we shall not oonly be displesed with you but ye and all othre that come not shall renne into like paynes or gretter as have ben in oure afore this tyme and leide upon suche as have absented theim and forborn to come to oure Parlement for the tyme beyng.

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[1] This answer is probably equivalent to a refusal of assent.

[2] "En sa paiis."

10.

[Claim of John, Earl of Arundel, to be summoned to Parliament as Earl of Arundel in virtue of his tenure of the lordship of Arundel. He had been previously summoned as John Arundell de Arundell, Chivaler. Rot. Parl., iv. 441. (Fr.).]

May it please the King, our Sovereign Lord, to receive your humble liege John, Earl of Arundel, now in your service in your Realm of France, in his seat in your Parliament and Council, as Earl of Arundel; considering that his ancestors, Earls of Arundel, Lords of the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of Arundel, took their seat in the Parliaments and Councils of your Progenitors, time out of mind, by reason of the aforesaid Castle, Honour, and Lordship, to which is adjoined and annexed the said title of Earl; of which Castle, Honour, and Lordship the said suppliant is at present seised.

[*Ibid.*, 144. (Lat.).]

Our Lord the King by the advice and assent of the Prelates, Dukes, Earls and Barons, in this present Parliament assembled (restores) the same John now Earl of Arundel, to the place and seat of the Earls of Arundel in the Parliaments and Councils of the King, as has been the use and custom of old time.

11.

[Authority of Parliament. (*a*) The King's defence of his prerogative, 1411. Rot. Parl., iii. 658.]

On Saturday the 19th day of December, which was the last day of Parliament, the Commons came before the King and the Lords in Parliament . . . and there the Speaker, on behalf of the said Commons, told how the King had sent the Chancellor of England to explain to the said Commons a certain article drawn up in the last Parliament, and the said Speaker, in the name of the said Commons, prayed our lord the King to let them know his will concerning the said article. Our lord the King answered and said, that he wished to maintain his liberty and prerogative, that he might have, enjoy and use them in all points as fully as any of his noble ancestors or predecessors, before his time. To this the said Speaker, in the name of the said Commons, and also the Commons themselves, of their common assent, were well agreed; therefore the King thanked them, and said, that he wished to have and to enjoy as great a liberty, prerogative, and freedom as any of his ancestors had in times passed before him, and thereupon, the same our lord the King, in full Parliament, annulled the said article and everything consequent and dependent upon it in all points.

[(*b*) Relation of statute law to common law. From a case which concerned the interpretation of an act of Parliament. Year Books, ed. R. Tottell, 33 Hen. VI, fo. xviii. (Fr.).]

Fortescue. It is an act of Parliament, and we wish to be well advised before we annul an act made in Parliament, and peradventure the matter should wait until the next Parliament, and then we may be informed by them of certain matters, but in any case we wish to have advice as to what should be done, [(*c*) The sanction for statute law. Pecock, "Repressor of overmuch-blaming of the clergy." R.S., i. 22.]

If the King of Englond dwellid in Gascony, and wolde send a noble longe letter or epistle into Englond, both to iugis and to othere men, that ech of hem schulde kepe the pointis of the lawe of Englond . . . yet it oughte not be said that thilk epistle of the King groundid eny of the lawis or governancis of Englond, for her ground is had to hem bifore thilk epistle of the King and that bi acte and decre of the hool Parliament of Englond, which is verry ground to all the lawis of Englond, though thilk epistle of the King . . . had not been writun.

12.

[Statutes concerning elections of Knights of the Shire.
(*a*) 7 Hen. IV, c. 15. S.R., ii. 156.]

That from henceforth the elections of such knights shall be made in the form as followeth; That is to say, at the next county, to be holden after the delivery of the writ of the Parliament, proclamation shall be made in the full county of the day and place of the Parliament, and that all they that be there present, as well suitors duly summoned for the same cause, as other, shall attend to the election of knights for the Parliament; and then in the full county they shall proceed to the election freely and indifferently, notwithstanding any request or commandment to the contrary; and after that they be chosen, the names of the persons so chosen, be they present or absent, shall be written in an indenture under the seals of all them that did choose them, and tacked to the same writ of the Parliament; which indenture, so sealed and tacked, shall be holden for the sheriff's return of the said writ, touching the knights of the shires.

[(*b*) 1 Hen. V, c. 1. *Ibid.*, 170.]

That the knights of the shire which from henceforth shall be chosen in every shire, be not chosen unless they be resident within the shire(s) where they shall be chosen, the day of the date of the writ of the summons of the Parliament;

and that the knights and esquires, and others which shall be choosers of those knights of the shires, be also resident within the same shires, in manner and form as is aforesaid. And moreover, it is ordained and established, that the citizens and burgesses of the cities and boroughs be chosen men, citizens and burgesses resiant, dwelling and free in the same cities and boroughs, and no other in any wise.

[(*c*) 8 Hen. VI, c. 7. *Ibid.*, 243.]

The knights of the shires to be chosen within the same realm of England to come to the Parliaments hereafter to be holden, shall be chosen in every county by people dwelling and resident in the same, whereof every one of them shall have free tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year at the least above all charges . . . and such as have the greatest number of them that may expend forty shillings by year and above, as afore is said, shall be returned by the sheriffs of every county, knights for the Parliament, by indentures sealed betwixt the said sheriffs and the said choosers so to be made.

[(*d*) 10 Hen. VI, c. 2. *Ibid.*, 273.]

That the knights of all counties within the said Realm . . . shall be chosen in every county by people dwelling and resiant in the same, whereof every man shall have freehold, to the value of xl.s. by the year at the least above all charges, within the same county where any such chooser will meddle with any such election.

[(*e*) 23 Hen. VI, c. 14. This statute also made the regulations in Stat. 7 Hen. IV, concerning indentures to be returned by the sheriff, of equal force in borough elections. *Ibid.*, 342.]

So that the knights of the shires for the Parliament hereafter to be chosen, shall be notable knights of the same counties for which they shall be chosen or otherwise such notable esquires, gentlemen of the same counties, as shall be able to be knights; and no man to be such knight as standeth in the degree of a yeoman and under.

13.

[An indenture returned with the writ for election by the sheriff, in accordance with Stat. 23 Hen. VI, see above, p. 158. The franchise in certain boroughs which had a sheriff was upon the same basis as that of the shires. In Newcastle, the additional qualification of freedom of the city was required. P.R.O. Parliamentary Writs and Returns, Bundle 16. 1459.]

This indenture made at the town of Newcastle on Tyne in "pleno comitatu" of the said town held at the same town on Wednesday the seventh day of November, in the thirty-eighth year of King Henry the sixth after the Conquest, testifies that a proclamation of the Parliament of our Lord the King to be held at Coventry on the twentieth day of the month aforesaid, was made by Henry Ffouler, sheriff of the town aforesaid, by authority of a writ of our Lord the King directed to him and sown on to the back of this indenture, as is more fully specified in the same writ. John Chambre, Alan Bird, William Rothom, Robert Baxter, John Baxter, John Dent, George Rotherford, Nicholas Wetwang, Alan Carier, Thomas Cudbert, John Obyngton, John Mappas, John Watson, John Pert, William Ffournes, William Johnson, William Bacon, John Ellesson, Robert Moreton, William Sele, John Ogle, John Strother, Thomas Stalker, William Couper, Henry Morpath, Thomas Castell, James Clerk, John Bover, John Yong, William Johnson, Walter Fflecher, Robert Brown, Robert Kechyn, John Hudson, and Robert Huet, burgesses of the town aforesaid, who were present at the proclamation aforesaid, and freely and indifferently chose John Richardson and John Penreth, two burgesses dwelling and resident in the said town, from among the more wise men of sufficient standing of the said town, to come and attend on the day and at the place aforesaid to the parliament aforesaid there to be held. And these John Richardson and John Penreth shall have full and sufficient authority for themselves and the city aforesaid to take part in, and to give consent to, those things which shall there be ordained by the common counsel of the realm of

England. To this beareth witness by this indenture both the sheriff aforesaid and the aforesaid John Chambre. . . . [Here all the names are repeated] and to it they have put their seals. Dated at the town of Newcastle on Tyne, Wednesday, the day and year above said.

14.

[(*b*) A borough election. King's Lynn, 12 April, 1425. Records of the Borough of King's Lynn, Assembly Book, no. 1. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. xi. pt. 2, App. 158. (Lat.).]

And then the Mayor exhibited the King's brief for a Parliament, running in these words, etc. :—

And the Mayor chose for the election of burgesses of Parliament Richard Wartenden, Nicholas Aldirman, William Style and Thomas Langton, who retired together into the chamber, who chose Andrew Swantton, William Kyrton, Ralph Bedyngham, John Springwell, T. Wursted, John Systerne, John Biekieres, and John Andrew, who appeared together and received their charge by the fealty which they made to the community that they would elect two sufficient burgesses to attend the Parliament, according to the tenor of the said brief, and they elected John Copnote and Thomas Burgh.

15.

[Attempt to control a borough election. For a similar attempt in a shire election see "Paston Letters," iii. 34, no. 228. From the Records of the Corporation of Great Grimsby. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. xiv. pt. 8, App. 250.]

To my right trusty and welbeloved the Mayor and Bailyfs of Grymesby be this delivered.

Right trusty and welbeloved, I grete you wel. And forasmuch as it is supposed that there shall now hastily ben a Parlement, which if it so shall be I pray you right hertely, considered that my right trusty and welbeloved servaunt Rauff Chaundeler[1] is like newely to ben maund[2] in yo^{r} town at Grymesby, wherfor of reson he shuld rather shewe his diligence in suche as shall be thought spedefull for the wele of yo^{r} said town thanne sum other straung persone, ýt may like you for my sake in yo^{r} eleccion for yo^{r} Burgeises of yo^{r} said town to graunte yo^{r} good will and voys to my said servaunt to th'extent that he myght be oon of yo^{r} Burgeises to apere for yo^{r} said town in the said Parlement. And such as I may do for you I shall at alle tymes the rather perfourme to my power, as knoweth God, which have you ever in keping. Writen at Eppeworth, the xv day of Decembre,

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[1] Rauff Chaundeler was M.P. for Grimsby, 1452. The letter is undated.

[2] sent for.

JOHN VISCOUNT BEAUMONT.

16.

[Disputed elections. (*a*) 1404. Rot. Parl., iii. 530. (Fr.).]

Since the said Commons have heard that the writ of Summons to Parliament returned by the sheriff of Rutland was not properly and duly returned, therefore the same Commons beseech our Lord the King and the Lords in Parliament that this matter may be duly examined in Parliament, and in the event of a faulty return being proved, that such a penalty may be imposed, as shall be a warning to others not to offend in a similar manner. Wherefore, our said lord the King in full Parliament, commanded the Lords of Parliament to examine the said matter, and to do as it seemed best to them. Therefore the Lords aforesaid summoned before them in Parliament both the said sheriff and also William Ondeby returned by the said sheriff as one of the knights for the county, and Thomas Thorp, who was chosen in "pleno comitatu" to be one of the knights of the same county, and was not returned by the said sheriff. And when the parties had been duly examined, and their evidence taken in the said Parliament, it was decreed by the Lords, that since the said sheriff had not made a due return to the said writ, he should amend the return, and should return the said Thomas for one of the said knights, since he was chosen in full county for the Parliament. And further, that the said sheriff should be dismissed from his office, and committed to the prison of the Fleet, and that he should pay a fine and a ransom according to the King's pleasure.

[(*b*) Declaration annexed to the return to the writ for election of two knights of the shire by the sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, 29 Hen. VI. R. Stonham and J. Styvecley (Stinecle) were returned. Prynne, "Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva," pt. ii. 156.]

To the King our Gracious and Sovereign Lord. . . . At Huntington the Saturday next before Saint Luke's day the Evangelist now last pasted, the under-sheriff of your said shire of Huntington, there in the pleyn shire did your said writ of elections to be proclaimed for the two knights of the said shire . . . and wee Nicholes Stinecle, knight, Robert Stoneham, John Stinecle (here follow the names of 121 other freeholders) freeholders and dwelling within the same shire of Huntington, having freehold to the value clearly, above all charges yearly 40s., with a three hundred more good Comoners of the said shire . . . considering the great needfull ayde that is behoofull for your most royall estate, and concerning the safeguard of your most gracious persone, indending the judicial pease of yowe our erthly soveraigne lord, of this your noble realme, concerning these premisses, that your men of your honourable household, named in your checker-Roll, should be most like the expedition, and to execute and assent to the said aydes for yowe our Soveraigne Lord, your realme, and us your trew suggets and ligemen; and that upon the said considerations, wee named and chosen for knights at this time Robert Stoneham and John Stynecle Esq., of your said honourable household; notwithstanding these premisses, there appeared be labour of diverse gentilmen of other shires, and of your said shire of Huntington, the nombre of a lxx freeholders, comoners, naming Henry Gimber to be one of the said knights, which is not of Gentile birth, according to your said writ, and thereupon the Under-Sheriff went to examination according to the statutes rehersed in your said writ, and have xlvii examined of forreiners and receants, without interruption of us, and few of them contributors to the knight's expenses. And whenne wee the Freeholders before named should be examined in like wise, tho on the said Henry Gimbers part would not suffer us of our part to be examined, and to give voys, thoue we might clearly yarely expend xx mark, without that we should have offended the peace of yowe our most doutye Soveraigne Lord, and soo wee departed for dread of the said inconveniences that was likely to be done of manslaughter. And what that the sheriff will retain in this behalf wee can have no notice; For which cause wee your true humble suggets and leigmen . . . beseeching youe our most douty Sovereigne Lord and King . . . that the said Sheriff may be by your great Highnesse streghtly charged to return the said Robert Stoneham and John Stynecle . . . and that was and is our will and deed wee the said freeholders to the nombre of Cxxiiij have put to our seales severally and as appear it, and as your law will to do, and abide thereby to our lives end.

17.

[Colchester exempted from sending burgesses to Parliament. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, ii. 355, dated March 13, 1404.]

Grant for six years to the burgesses of Colcestre, in aid of their great cost and expenses in the enclosure of the town with a wall of stone and lime for the resistance of the King's enemies, that they shall be exempted from sending any of their fellow-burgesses to any Parliaments, provided that they keep and support all statutes and ordinances and charges made and granted in the said Parliaments.

18.

[Parliamentary Privileges. (i) Freedom of speech: (*a*) The petition of Thomas Haxey, 1399. The Speaker demanded at the beginning of each Parliament the privilege of freedom of speech for himself only. Haxey was not a member of Parliament. Rot. Parl., iii. 430. (Fr.).]

Be it remembered that Thomas Haxey, clerk, presented a petition to our Lord the King in Parliament, in the following words: To our Lord the King and the Lords of Parliament, Sheweth your poor clerk, Thomas Haxey, that whereas the said Thomas, presented a petition, in the Parliament held at Westminster on the feast of St. Vincent in the twentieth year of King Richard II, to the Commons of the said Parliament, for the honour and welfare of the said King, and for the whole realm and for this petition the said Thomas was found guilty of treason, according to the will of the said King. . . .

This petition with the records of it and the proceedings taken thereon, having been read aloud, the same our Lord the King ordained and adjudged that the sentence passed on the said Thomas in the Parliament held at Westminster in the twentieth year aforesaid of the late King Richard . . . should be entirely removed, reversed, repealed, and annulled, and held to be of no force nor effect.

[(*b*) The petition of Thomas Yonge, member for Bristol, that the Duke of York be recognised as heir to the throne, 1451. The petition does not appear in the Roll. William of Worcester, "Annals," R.S., [770]. (Lat.).]

In the same Parliament, Thomas Yonge, of Bristol, an apprentice in the law, proposed, that since the King had no offspring, it should be publicly announced who was the heir-apparent, for the safety of the kingdom. And he named the Duke of York. For this reason this same Thomas was afterwards committed to the Tower of London.

[1455. Rot. Parl., v. 337.]

To the right wise and discreet Comons in this present Parlement assembled: Bisechen humbly Thomas Yong. That whereas he late beyng oon of the knyghtes for the Shire and Toune of Bristowe, in dyvers Parlements holden afore this, demened him in his saiyng in the same, as well, faithfully, and with alle suche trewe diligent labour, as his symplenesse couthe or myght, for the wele of the Kyng oure Soverain Lorde, and this his noble Realme; and notwithstonding that by the olde liberte and fredom of the Comyns of this Lande had, enjoyed, and prescribed, fro the tyme that no mynde is, alle suche persones as for the tyme, been assembled in eny Parlement for the same Comyn, ought to have theire fredom to speke, and sey in the Hous of their assemble, as to theym is thought convenyent or reasonable, withoute eny maner chalange, charge, or punycion therefore to be leyde to theym in eny wyse. Neverthelesse, by untrewe sinistre reportes made to the Kinges Highnesse of your said Bisecher, for matiers by him shewed in the Hous accustumed for the Comyns in the said Parlementes, he was therefor taken, arrested, and rigorously in open wise led to the Toure of London, and there grevously in grete duresse long tyme emprisoned, ayenst the said fredom and liberte, and was there put in grete fere of ymportable punycion of his body and drede of losse of his lif, withoute eny enditement, presentement, appele due, originall accusement, or cause laufull, had or sued ayenst him . . . and to over grete excessyve losses and expenses of his goods, amountyng to the somme of M marks and much more. Please hit your grete wisdoms, . . . to pray the Kyng oure Soverain Lorde that hit like his Highnesse of his most noble grace, to graunte and provide, by th'avice of the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell . . . that . . . your said bisecher have sufficient and resonable recompense, as good feith, trouth, and conscience requiren.

The Kynge wolle, that the Lordes of his Counseill do and provyde in this partie for the seid Suppliant, as by their discrecions shal be thought convenyent and resonable.

19.

[(ii) Freedom from arrest for members of Parliament. (*a*) Stat. 11 Hen. VI, c. 2. S.R., ii. 286.]

If any assault or affray be made to any Lord spiritual or temporal, knight of the shire, citizen or burgess, come to the Parliament or to other council of the King by his commandment, and there being and attending at the Parliament or Council that then proclamation shall be made in the most open place of the town, by three several days, where the assault or affray shall be made, that the party that made such affray or assault yield himself before the King in his Bench within a quarter of a year after the proclamation made, . . . and if he do not, that he be attainted of the said deed, and pay to the party grieved his double damages, . . . and if he come, and be found guilty . . . then he shall pay to the party so grieved his double damages.

[(*b*) Thomas Thorp's case, 1453. Rot. Parl., v. 239. (Fr.).]

On the 14th day of February, the Commons by certain of their number, requested the King . . . that Thomas Thorp, their Speaker, and Walter Rayle, members of the said Parliament, at that time in prison, might be delivered and set at liberty, that the business of Parliament might proceed. . . . (Eng.) The seid Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, not entendyng to empeche or hurt the Libertees and Privelegges of theym that were comen for the Commune of this lande to this present Parlement, but egally after the cours of lawe will wey in that behalve, opened and declared to the Justices the premissez, and axed of theym whether the seid Thomas ought to be delivered from prison, by force and vertue of the Privilegge of Parlement or noo. To the which question, the chefe Justicez in the name of all the Justicez, after sadde communication and mature deliberation hadde amonge theim, aunswered and said; that they ought not to aunswere to that question, for it hath not be used afore tyme, that the Justicez shuld in eny wyse determine the Privelegge of this high Court of Parlement; for it is so high and so mighty in his nature, that it may make lawe, and that that is lawe it may make noo lawe; and the determination and knowlegge of that Privelegge belongeth to the Lordes of the Parlement, and not to the Justices . . . and if any persone that is a membre of this high Court of Parlement be arested in suche cases as be not for treason or felony, or suerte of the peas, or for a condempnation hadde before the Parlement, it is used that all such persones shuld be relessed of such arrestes and make an Attourney, so that they may have theire fredom and libertee, frely to entende upon the Parlement. . . . After which aunswere and declaration, it was thorowly agreed, assentid and concluded by the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, that the seid Thomas, accordyng to the lawe, shuld remayne still in prison for the causes abovesaid, the Privilegge of Parlement, or that the same Thomas was Speker or the Parlement, notwithstondyng.

20.

[(iii) Freedom from arrest for member's servants. (*a*) Case of Richard Chedder, 1404. Stat. 5 Hen. IV, c. 6. S.R., ii. 144.]

Because that Richard Chedder, esquire, which was come to this Parliament with Thomas Broke, knight, one of the knightes chosen to the same Parliament for the county of Somerset, and menial servant with the said Thomas, was horribly beaten, wounded, blemished, and maimed by one . . . John Savage; it is ordained and stablished . . . that proclamation be made where the same horrible Deed was done, that the said John appear and yield him in the King's Bench within a quarter of a year after the proclamation made, and if he do not, the same John shall be attainted of the seid deed, and pay to the party grieved his double damages. . . . Moreover it is recorded in the same Parliament, that likewise it be done in time to come in like case.

[(*b*) Case of William Larke, a servant of William Milrede, member for London, 1429. Rot. Parl., iv. 357. (Fr.).]

The Commons request, that whereas one William Larke, a servant of William Milrede, coming to this your Court of Parliament, representing the city of London, was brought before the Piepowder Court of the Abbot of Westminster, by his officers on account of the plausible story and inventions of one Margerie Janyns, he being then in the service of William Milrede aforesaid, and was taken from there to your Court of King's Bench, and was by the Judges of your said Bench committed to your prison of the Fleet and has been detained there until this time . . . may it please your Royal Majesty, that considering that the said William Larke, at the time of his arrest, was in the service of the said William

Milrede, and that he supposed, that by privilege of your Court of Parliament, he would be protected against all manner of arrest, except for treason, felony, or surety of the peace, during the sitting of the said Court, to ordain by the authority of this same your Parliament, that the said William Larke may be released from the Fleet prison aforesaid . . . and to grant, that by the same authority, your liegemen, that is to say lords, knights of your counties, citizens and burgesses, coming to your Parliaments, their servants and household attendants, may be free from arrest and imprisonment, during the sitting of your Parliament, except for treason, felony, or surety of the peace, as is above said.

The King, by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and at the particular request of the Commons, being in this present Parliament, and also with the assent of the counsel for Margerie Janyns named in this petition, wills and grants, by the authority of the said Parliament, that William Larke, named in the said petition, may be now released from the prison of the Fleet. And as to the rest of the petition: "Le roi s'advisera".

[(*c*) Case of a servant of Lord Scales. Nicolas, "Proc.," vi. 103.]

Writ to the Keeper of the Privy Seal, 23 December, 1450. Right trusty and welbeloved. Forasmuche as we be acertained that a servaunt longing to oure right trusty and welbeloved the Lord Scales (called Hugh of Forde) during the tyme of this oure parlement was committed to the warde of oure Conestable and Mareschal of Englande. We therfore wolling the priveleges of oure parlementez to be observed and kepte, wol and charge you that under our prive seel being in your warde ye do make oure lettres directed to oure Conestable and Marschal abovseade charging and commaunding theym to late the servaunt abovesaide to go at large for the tyme that oure parlement shal endure, and thees oure lettres shal be your warraunt. Yeven under oure signet at oure palois of Westmynstr the xxiij day of Decembre, the yere of oure reigne xxix.

B. THE COUNCIL AND HOUSEHOLD.

1.

[(i) Attempts of Parliament to control the Council. (*a*) Rules for the Council during the minority of Henry VI, 1422. Rot. Parl., iv. 176.]

The which Lordis above said ben condescended to take it up on hem in the manere and fourme that sueth, First, for asmuche as execution of lawe and kepyng of Pees, stant miche in justice of pees, shirrefs, and eschetours, the profits of the Kyng and the revenuz of the roialme ben greetly encreseed or anientisched by coustumers, countroullours, poisours, sercheours, and all suche other officers. Therefore the same Lordes wol and desireth, that suche officers and all othre be maad by advys and denomination of the said Lordes, saved always and reserved to my Lordes of Bedford, and of Glouces, and that longeth unto hem by a special Act maad in Parlement; and to the Busschop of Winchestre that, that he hath graunted hym by oure Souverein Lord that last was, of whois soule God have mercy, and by auctorite of Parlement conformed.

ITEM, that all maner wardes, mariages, fermes, and other casueltees that longeth to the Coroune, whan thei falle, be leeten, sold and disposed by the said Lordis of the Counseill and that indifferently atte the derrest, with oute favour or eny maner parcialtee or fraude.

ITEM, that if eny thyng shold be enact doon by Counseill that six or foure at the lest, withoute officers of the said Counseill, be present; and in all grete maters that shall passe by Counseill, hat all be present, or ellys the more partye; and yf it be suche matere that the Kyng hath been accustumed to be conseilled of, that than the said Lordes procede not ther ynne withoute th' advise of my Lordys of Bed', or of Glouc'.

ITEM, for asmiche as the two Chaumberlains of th' Eschequr ben ordenned of old tyme to countrolle the receptes and the paiments in any maner wyse maad; The

Lordys desireth that the Tresourer of England beyng for the tyme, and either of the Chamburlaines, have a keye of that that shold come into the receit, and that they be sworne to fore my lorde of Gloucetre and all the Lordis of the Counseill, that for no frendship they schul make no man privee, but the Lords of the Counseill, what the Kyng hath withynne his Tresour.

ITEM, that the Clerc of the Counseill be charged and sworn to treuly enacte and write daylich the names of all the Lords that shul be present, fro tyme to tyme, to see what, howe, and by whom, eny thyng passeth.

[Additional rules, 1423. *Ibid.*, 201.]

Thise ben certein provisions for the good of the gouvernance of thes land that the Lordes which ben of the K. Counsaill desireth:

Frost, that my Lord of Gloucestre ne noon other man of the Counsaill, in no suyte that shal be maad unto hem, shal no favour graunte, nethir in billes of right, ne of office, ne of benefice, that loongeth to the Counsaill, but oonly to ansuere that the bille shal be seen by all the Counsaill, and the partie suying to have ansuere.

ITEM, that all the billes that shul be putt unto the Counsaill, shuld be onys in the weke att the lest, that is to seie on the Wednesday, redd byfore ye Counsaill, and yere ansueres endoced by the same Counsaill. And on the Friday next folwyng, declared to the partie suying.

ITEM, that all the billes that comprehende materes terminable atte the commune lawe, that seemeth noght fenyd, be remitted there to be determined; but if so be that ye discrecion of the Counsaill feele so greet myght on that oo syde and unmyght oo that othir.

ITEM, if so be that eny matere suyd in the Counsaill falle in to diverse opinions that oo lesse, than the more partye of the Counsaill beying present, in the tyme of discord, falle to that oo part, that it be nought enacted as assented. And the names of both parties enact be the Clerk of the Counsaill, wyth here assent or disassent.

ITEM, that in alle suytes that shuld be maad to the Counsaill in materes whois determinathion loongeth unto the Counsaill, but if it so be that they touche the weel of the K. oure soverein Lord, or of his reaume, hastily to be sped, elleys that they be nought enact doon by the Counsaill oo lesse than to the nombre of VI, or foure atte the lest of the Counsaill, ond the officers that ben present be of oon assent, and atte all tymes the names of th assenteurs to be wryten of that owen hand in the same bille.

ITEM, for as miche as it is to greet shame that in to straung Countrees oure soverein Lord shal write his Letters by th' advyse of his Counsaill, for such materes and persones as the Counsail writeth in his name and singuler person of the Counsail to write the Contrarie; that it be ordenned, that no man of the Counsaill presume to do it, on peyne of shame and reproef.

ITEM, that the Clerc of the Counsail be sworn, that every day that the Counseill sitteth on ony billes bitwyx partie and partie that he shall, as fer as he can, aspye which is the porest suyturs bille, and that first to be redd and answered and the king's sergeant to be sworne trewly and plainly, to yeve the poor man, that for suche is accept to the Counsail, assistense and trewe Counsaill in his matere so to be suyed, wyth oute eny good takyng of hym, on peyne of discharge of ther offic'.

ITEM, for asmuch that it is likly that many materes shull be treted a fore the Counsaill, the which toucheth the King' prerogatif and freehold, o that o partie and othir of his sougits, o that othir in the whiche materes the Counsaill is not lerned to kepe the Kynges ryghts, an the parties both withoute th' advise of the Kynges Justic', which be lerned both in his prerogatifs, and in commune lawe. That in all suche materes his Juges be called therto, and their advise, with yair namys also, to be entred of record, what and howe thei determyne and advyse therinne.

[Additional rules, 1429. *Ibid.*, 343.]

V. ITEM, that every man of the seide Counseill, shal have full fredom to say what that hym thenketh, to all matiers that shal be demened, or treted in the seide Counseill; and no persone of the seide Counseill shal conceyve indignation displesance ne wrath, azeins any other of the seide Counseill, for saiyng his advys or entent, to any request or matier, that shal be spoken or purposed in th seide Counseill, whome that ever it touche: always due reverence kept to every astate and persone.

VI. ITEM, that for as muche as it hath often tymes be knowe that matiers swiche as hath be spoken and treted in the seide Counseill, have be publyshed and discovered; whiche thing hath caused persones of the seide Counseill, to ymagyn straungely one of another, and diverses persones of the seide Counseill to renne in maugre and indignation of pirsones oute of the Counseill and other grete inconveniencies. That therfore fro this tyme forward, no persone, of what degree or condition yat he be of, shal be suffred to abyde in the Counseill, whilin maters o ye seide Counseill be treted yerin, safe only yoo yat ben sworn unto ye Counseill; but if yai be specially called therto by auctorite of ye seide Counseill.

IX. ITEM, that the correction, punicisn, or remevyng, of any Counseller, or grete officer of the Kynges, shal procede of thassent and advys, of the more parte of alle thoo that beth' apoynted of the Kynges Counseill.

[(*b*) Petition of the Commons for the dismissal of Councillors, 1451. *Ibid.*, v. 216.]

Prayen, the Commons, for asmoche as the persones hereafter in this bille named, hath been of mysbehavyng aboute youre roiall persone, and in other places, by whos undue meanes your possessions have been gretely amenused,[1] youre lawes not executed, and the peas of this youre reaume not observed nother kept, . . . Please your Highnes, . . . to ordeigne by auctorite of this youre present Parlement (that they) be voided and amoeved fro youre moost noble, presence persone and estate, terme of here lyfs.

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[1] diminished.

[The King's answer.]

As toward the persones named in this petition, his Highnes is not sufficiently lerned of eny cause why they shuld be removed frome the presence of his Highnes; Nevertheles, his Highnes, of his owne mere movyng, and by noon other auctorite, is agreed, that except the persone of any Lord named in the seid petition, and except also certein persones which shall be right fewe in nombre, the which have be accustumed contynuelly to waite uppon his persone, and knowen howe and in what wite they shall mowe beste serve hym to his pleasure, his Highnes is agreed, that the remnaunte shall absente theym frome his high Presence, and from his Court, for the space of an hoole yere.

2.

[Relation between the Councillors in England and those with the King in France. Minutes of the Council, 16 April, 1430, Nicolas, "Proc.," iv. 38.]

It was appointed and concluded there that suche matiers as for the wele of the Kyng shul be passed in France by the consaillers of Englond aboute the Kynges persone may be holden as passed and doon by oon accord and avis bothe here and there and in lyke wise to be understanden and holden of matiers to be passed by the consaillers here. . . .

Item, that whan it shal be wreten to court by the Kyng recomendyng eny of his subgittes to bisshopprickes or other benefices that furst avis be hadde and wist of bothe the consailles aswel there as here, or than eny lettre passe for eny manere persone either under the Kynges prive seal or his signet in eschewyng of variance in writyng and other inconvenientes that mowe ensue of the contrarie.

3.

[Distinction between members of the Great Council and Parliament and members of the Privy Council. From the protest of the Duke of Gloucester against the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, 1440. Gloucester protests against the acceptance of the Cardinalate by the Bishop of Winchester. King Henry IV, he says, would have had certain clerks made cardinals, who were not already bishops. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S., II, ii. 442.]

That, in general counsailles and in alle maters that might concerne the wele of hym and of his royaume, he shulde have promoters of his nacione, as alle other Cristen kynges had, in the courte of Rome, and not to abide in this lande as eny part of youre counsaille, as be alle other lords spirituell and temporell at the parlements and greet counsailles, whan youre liste is to calle hem. And therefore, thogh it like you to do hym that worship to sette hym in youre prive counsaille, where that you list, yeet in youre parlements, where every lord spirituell and temporel have thair place, hym aught to occupie his place but as bisshop.

4.

[Henry's assertion of the authority of letters under his signet. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, iv. 312-13, 7 November, 1444.]

Henry by the grace of God kynge of England and of Fraunce and lord of Irlande to our chaunceller of England, gretyng. All such grauntes as that sith the x^th^ yere of our regne unto this tyme ye by force and vertue of billes with our own hond and by lettres undre our signetes of the Egle and armes and also by billes endoced by our chaumberleyn handes and clerk of our counsail, have made over lettres patentes under our grete seel, we hold theym firm and stable and of as grete strength and valewe and to yowe as sufficeant warrant as though ye had had for theyme our lettres of prive seel, any statut, charge, restraint, act or commaundement to yowe made in to the contrarie notwithstondyng.

Yeven under our prive seel at our manoir within our park of Wyndesore the vij day of Novembre, the yere of our regne xxiij.

5.

[Attendance and payment of Councillors. (*a*) P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts, K.R., Council, Bundle 96, no. 19.]

I Rauf Lord Cromwell declare to the Barons of the Kynges exchequer that I have actuely entendid to the kynges counseil that now is the Kyng Henry the sixt in his Realme of England fro the ix^e day of decembre the first yere of his Regne in the maner that folowyth that is to sey the first the ii^de the iij^de the iiij^te the v^th the vj^te the vij^te the viij^te yere hole in to mighelmasse the ix^te yere and so forth in to Trinite terme next folowyng, in whiche terme I was absent fro the seid conseil be as many days as ther were days in noumbre in the same terme fulle in the whiche the kynges justices of his Benche and of his comune place sett in that is to sey be xxviij days for I was sent fore be the kynges comaundement to come to hym in to his Royalme of Fraunce to attende and abide about his person and so I dyd, and so was I absent fro the seid conseile the michelmas terme and the hillary terme the x^te as many days as there were days in noumbre in eyther of those same termes fulle in the whuche the seid kynges justices sett in that is to say in the sayd michelmas terme be xxxvi days and in the hillary terme xxviii days and fro that hillary terme that is to sey the x yere of the regne of the kyng I actuelly entendid to the seid counseil continually terme be terme in to the xi day of August the xi yere of the regne of our soveraigne lord the kyng aforseid in whiche day it lyked hym to make me his Tresorer of Englond.

[Account for his actual attendance. *Ibid.* (Lat.).]

At the rate of £100 a year, from December 9th in the first year, being the first day on which the said Ralph attended the Council, until August 11th, in the 11th year, on which day the said Lord Ralph was appointed Treasurer of England, that is for 10 years, two quarter years and 63 days, less £46 for the 92 days upon which the said Ralph did not actually attend the said Council, because the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas were sitting there, calculated at the rate of 10s. a day, that is, for the whole of the Trinity Term in the 9th year, 28 days, and the whole of the Michaelmas term in the 10th year, 36 days, and the Hilary Term in the same year, 28 days, making in all 92 days, as appears on the bill containing the particulars of this attendance, which was presented to the King's Exchequer by Lord Cromwell in his own person, and according to these particulars specified there remains to be paid £1021 5s. 2d. according to the King's writ of Privy Seal dated on the above said July 2nd in the 12th year directed to the Treasurer and Barons of this Exchequer and enrolled amongst the writs directed to the Treasurer and Barons in the term of the Holy Trinity in the thirteenth year, on the 9th roll by the King's Remembrancer.

[(*b*) Councillors exempted from attendance. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, iv. 85, dated 24 April, 1442.]

Exemption for life of William, Bishop of Lincoln, King's Councillor, from personal attendance in any Council or Parliament, on his showing that both in France and elsewhere he has spent a great part of his vital force in things not divine, that he cannot neglect the cure of souls without grave peril to his soul, and that he has rarely had leisure from such Councils and Parliaments.

[*Ibid.*, 158, dated 11 July, 1443.]

Grant to William, Bishop of Salisbury, that he be not compelled hereafter to attend any Council or Parliament of the King, nor be vexed by reason of his absence therefrom, provided that he be represented by his proctor.

STEPNEY PUBLIC MILE END LIBRARIES

6.

[Attempt of the Commons to exercise control over the Royal Household, 1404. (*a*) Rot. Parl., iii. 525. (Fr.).]

The said Commons requested our said Lord the King, that in the ordinance to be made for the Household of the same Lord the King, honest, good, and well-known persons might be named and appointed, and their names notified to the said Lords and Commons in this Parliament.

[(*b*) *Ibid.*, 528.]

On Saturday, the 1st day of March, in the presence of the King and the Lords of Parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury, by command of the King, declared to them the King's will touching the manner of his rule, as the King himself had declared to them the Monday before. That is to say, . . . the King's will is that the laws must be kept and maintained; that justice shall be done to rich and poor alike, and not in any manner delayed by Letters of Secret Seal, or of Privy Seal, or by any other form of command or entresign.[1] And further, our Lord the King, willing that there shall be good governance of his Household, prayed the said Lords that they would labour to appoint good and able officers, of a suitable number, so that the people might be paid for their provisions and for the expenses of the Household aforesaid and he would be content if a single sum were assigned for the Chamber and the Wardrobe, provided it be sufficient to pay the debts that are owing. And it is further the will of our Lord the King that the grant to be made by the Lords and Commons now in this present Parliament, for the wars and defence of the Realm, be put into the hands of certain Treasurers, by the advice of the said Lords and Commons, that it may be spent only on the wars, and on nothing else.

[(*c*) 1442. *Ibid.*, v. 63.]

Prayen the Communes. . . . It please your noble grace . . . to ordeign and assigne by the auctorite of this your seid present Parlement, such and as meny of your Lordes, as it pleaseth your Highnesse, to have suffisaunt power and auctorite to se, establish, apoynte and ordeign, that good and sadde rule be hadde in and of your seid Houshold, and that redy paiement in hand be hadde for the dispenes of the same Household. . . .

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[1] "Entresigne" = sign or mark. See N.E.D.

Be it as it is desired.

7.

[Difficulty in obtaining payment for goods supplied to the Household, 1415. Rot. Parl., iv. 75. (Fr.). See also *ibid.*, 76.]

To the most wise Commons of this Parliament, beseecheth meekly John Shadworth, citizen and mercer of London, that whereas there is due to him the sum of £53 6s. 8d. by the very noble King, on whose soul God have mercy, the father of our sovereign Lord the King that now is, for divers spices bought by him and given to Roger Wodhill, then clerk of the spicery . . . and in payment of this sum certain tallies were given to the said suppliant, the sum to be paid at Westminster at the receipt of the late King, from certain customs officials of the same King, as it appears more clearly on the said tallies. And now it has happened that the customs received by the said officials do not amount to or reach the sums for which the said tallies are made out, and also these officials have been discharged from office. Your said suppliant therefore, for the reasons above said cannot receive his payment by means of the tallies aforesaid.

8.

[The Wardrobe, (*a*) The Great Wardrobe. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, v. 50, dated 4 March, 1447.]

Grant to Thomas Tudenham, knight, keeper of the great wardrobe, which office was granted to him of late by letters patent of free disposition and such liberty in the wardrobe, that the treasurer of England or other lord, estate, or person shall not be entertained there nor have any interest therein during his term of office, except those who are there at the King's fee and are bound by letters patent and ought to attend daily on the said office, and that no mayor, alderman, sheriff, constable, herald or other person, enter the said place, its dwellings, rents, or tenements to make any arrest or execution, unless the keeper, his deputy, or the collector of the said rent be then present; because the keeper accounts yearly touching the wardrobe with all its dwellings and tenements, receipts, repairs and other necessary costs, with the wages of all workmen there; and the tailors and skinners have been hindered by such as have been entertained there, because the doors have often been closed, and they could not come to their works.

[(*b*) The Privy Wardrobe. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, ii. 510, dated 15 February, 1405.]

Appointment of the King's servant Henry Somer, keeper of the King's privy wardrobe within the Tower of London, to take armourers, fletchers, smiths and other artificers and workmen for the works of armour, bows, arrows, and arrowheads and other works touching his office and put them to work in the Tower and elsewhere, and to take timber and wood for cannons and carriage for the same.

C. THE ROYAL REVENUE.

1.

[The normal methods of taxation were by (*a*) tenths and fifteenths, (*b*) customs on wool, (*c*) tunnage and poundage. Grant of customs on wool and leather, and tunnage and poundage to Henry V for life after Agincourt, November, 1415. For a grant of tenths and fifteenths, see above, p. 32. Rot. Parl., iv. 63. (Fr.).]

Since the King our sovereign Lord . . . has not sufficient means wherewith to take action in order to claim what is his by right . . . to the honour and worship of God, and for the great and whole-hearted affection which the Commons of the realm of England bear towards our Lord the King, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, assembled in Parliament, held at Westminster on the Monday next after the feast of All Saints', the third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, is granted to the same sovereign Lord the King, on the twelfth day of November, in the same parliament, for the defence of the realm, the subsidy of wool, leather, and wool-fells, to be levied from the merchants denizen at the rate of 43s. 4d. the sack of wool, 43s. 4d. for every 240 wool-fells, and 100s. for every last of leather, and from the merchants alien for every sack of wool 60s., every 240 wool-fells 60s. and every last of leather 106s. 8d. to be levied and received . . . throughout the life of our said sovereign Lord the King. . . .

The said Commons grant . . . 3 shillings from each tun of wine, both imported and exported . . . and 12d. for every pound of merchandise imported and exported, excepting wools, leather, and wool-fells, and wine and all kinds of corn and fish and cattle imported, and ale and victuals exported to Calais and Harfleur and their marches . . . throughout the life of our Lord the King aforesaid.

2.

[Extraordinary methods of taxation. (*a*) Tax on land and moveables, 1427. Rot. Parl., iv. 318.]

Ye saide Commens graunten to oure saide soverain Lord, for ye said defense, yat alle inhabitantz, housholders withynne every Parische of this saide Royaume, so yat yer be inhabited in ye saide Parische x persones there holdynge housholde, alway Citees and Burghes excepte, of wiche Parisches the Chirches be not extented,[1] or singulerly both afore yis tyme extented withynne the annuell value of x Marc'; paie to oure saide soveraine Lord, al onely vi.s. viii.d. of her godes moebles. And over that alle inhabitantz, housholders in every Parishe withynne the saide Royaume, excepte ye saide Citees and Bourghes, of ye wiche Parisches ye Chirches both Singulerly afore this tyme extented to ye value of x marc, beying x inhabitantz, housholders in tham; paie to oure saide soverain Lord xiii.s. iiii.d. of her godes moebles; and so in to ye hiest extente afore yis tyme made, aftre ye rate. And yat ye inhabitantz, housholders of every Parische, withynne citees and Bourghs of this saide Royaume, in like wise and forme inhabite beyinge ye Chirche ther of annuell value of xxs. pay to oure saide soveraine Lord ii.s. And so above, aftre ye rate, to ye hiest value of Parishe Chirches, be due inquerrez yerof to be hade. Salvyng alwaies in suche inquerrez to ye saide Citees and Burghes her Fraunchises and Libertees. And also ye saide Commens graunten to oure saide soveraine Lord, for ye defense aforsaide, that every persone withynne ye saide Royaume, Beynge seysed of Londes and Tenementz withynne ye same Royaume, in his demesne as of freehold; which Londes and Tenementz ye saide persone possessour or persones possessours holdeth immediatly be a hool Knyghtes Fee, paie to oure saide soveraine Lord vis. viiid. and so aftre ye Rate, to ye fourth part of a Knyghtes Fee, as temporell possessions dymeable, and ye possessioners of ham for the same possessions, except ye saide subsidee of inhabitantz housholders, withynne ye saide parisches, to be paied in ye fest of Pentecost next commyng; and ye subsidee of ye saide Knyghtes Fees with ye rate yrof, at ye fest of ye nativite of Saint John Baptist next Commyng.

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[1] assessed.

[(*b*) Tax on land, 1430. *Ibid.*, 369. (Fr.).]

The said commons grant, by the authority aforesaid, that every lay man and lay woman, seised, on their demesne as of freehold, of manors, lands or tenements within the realm, by military service, shall pay to you, our lord the king, for the purposes of defence afore said, according to the value of their lands; that is to say, for every whole knight's fee, xxs. And that all men and women of the spiritual estate, holding manors, lands or tenements, acquired since the 20th year of the reign of King Edward 1st after the Conquest, shall pay to you our said lord the King, for the purposes of defence aforesaid, according to the value of their lands, that is to say, for every whole knight's fee, xxs. And that all men and women, whether lay or spiritual seised of any manors, lands, or tenements, as of freehold on their demesne, the service due from which is not equal to a whole knight's fee, shall pay to you . . . according to the scale; . . . and that all lay men and women seised on their demesne by free tenure, of any manors, lands, or tenements, held on terms other than that of military service, or seised of any dry rents,[1] or rent charges[2] to the net annual value of £xx beyond the reasonable and necessary rebatements, shall pay to you . . . xxs.

The same for the land of ecclesiastics, down to £5 annual value, according to the scale.

[The tax was repealed in 1432. *Ibid.*, 409.]

[(*c*) Taxation by the Council. Nicolas, "Proc.," i. 104, 9 February, 1400. (Fr.).]

Whereupon the lords spiritual and temporal aforesaid, considering the very great need, and in order to avoid the summoning of Parliament, and the consequent imposition of a tax or tallage upon the common people or any other burden, the said Lords spiritual and temporal agreed to grant an aid to our said Lord the King in the following manner. That is to say that each of the lords spiritual named below shall grant a tenth.

(The grants from the Lords temporal varied, see *ibid.*, pp. 105-6.)

[(*d*) Tax on alien householders, 1430. Rot. Parl., v. 6.]

We youre pouere Communes, . . . by thassent of alle the Lordes spirituell and temporell . . . graunte to you oure Soveraine Lorde, for the kepynge and defence of the See, a certeyne Subsidee, . . . That is to sey, that every persone housholder not English borne, dwellynge withynne this your said reaume, men and women borne in Wales, and other made denizeins except, paie to yowe yerely xvid. And every other persone non housholder, and noght borne in Englonde, except afore except, paie to yowe yerely vid.

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[1] Rents derived from the letting of land on lease, where no clause of distress is inserted in the agreement if the money is not paid yearly according to the agreement.

[2] Rents derived from similar letting of land, where a clause of distress is inserted in the agreement.

[(*e*) Tax on alien merchants and chantry priests. *Ibid.*, 144.]

Every Venecian, Italian, Januey, Florentyn, Milener, Lucan, Cateloner, Albertyns, Lumbard, Hansers, Pruciers, beyng Merchants or Factours, and all other Merchants straungiers, borne oute of youre said Lordshippes, Duchies and Isles, and dwellyng within this youre Royalme, or shall dwell duryng the said graunte, paye to you oure Soveraigne Lord a Subsidie, that is to say, everych of theym vis. viiid.; and their Clerkes, everych of theym xxd. : Moreover we youre pouer Commens graunten to you . . . a Subsidie to be take and rereyd[1] of all manere Prests seculers, Stipendaries and Chaunterie Prestes, within this y ure Roialme; that is to say, of every Prest vis. viiid.

3.

[An additional 6d. had been imposed on alien merchants as poundage. Owing to the opposition it aroused, it was repealed, 1432. Rot. Parl., iv. 390. (Lat.).]

For certain notable causes, which have more particularly determined the Lord the King aforesaid and his Council, with the advice and assent of the said Lords spiritual and temporal, now in this same Parliament; it is ordained and agreed, that all and every merchant alien now in the said realm of England, or who shall come to the same realm within the limits of the appointed time, shall be relieved and released from the necessity of paying the said 6d. which was imposed upon the said merchants by the terms of the grant aforesaid, to be paid by them as a subsidy over and above the said 12d. on all goods to the value of 20s.

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[1] levied.

4.

[Appropriation of grants, 1404. Rot. Parl., iii. 546. (Fr.).]

The grant is made on condition that the two fifteenths and two tenths aforesaid, and the subsidies on wool, leather, and wool-fells, and the 3s. on the tun, and xiid. on the pound, shall be entirely expended for the defence of the realm, according to the form and intention of this grant, in the manner aforesaid, and for no other purpose; and Thomas, Lord Furnivall, and John Pelham, Knight, assigned and appointed as treasurers of war in this present Parliament, to receive the said fifteenths, tenths, and subsidies, shall answer for and give account of them to the Commons of the realm at the next Parliament . . . and the Lords temporal for themselves and ladies temporal, and all other persons temporal, for the defence aforesaid, grant xxs. from for every £xx of land or of rents in their hands, to the value of five hundred marks a year and over, to be levied at the feasts of Christmas and St. John the Baptist next coming.

5.

[Protestation by the Commons because the Lords have decided on the amount of taxation necessary without consultation with them, 1407. Rot. Parl., iii. 611. (Fr.).]

On Monday, the 21st day of November, the King our sovereign Lord, sitting in the Council chamber in the Abbey of Gloucester, the Lords spiritual and temporal, summoned to this present Parliament, being present, they discussed amongst one another the condition of the realm, and the means necessary for its defence against the malice of its enemies . . . proclaiming the necessity, for its safety and defence, of granting to the King a large aid and subsidy in this present Parliament. The said Lords were then asked the question, what aid would suffice and be required for this purpose? To this demand and question, the Lords answered severally, that considering the necessities of the King on the one hand, and the poverty of the people on the other, the least aid that would suffice, would be one and a half tenths from the cities and boroughs, and one and a half fifteenths from other lay people, and in addition the subsidy on wools, leather, and wool-fells, and the subsidy of tunnage and poundage should be prolonged from the feast of St. Michael next coming for two years. After this, the Commons were bidden, by command of the King, to send a certain number of themselves before the King our sovereign Lord and the said Lords, to hear and report to their fellows what the King our sovereign aforesaid should say to them. Wherefore the said Commons sent into the presence of the King our sovereign Lord aforesaid and the said Lords, twelve of their number, to whom was reported, by command of the King the question aforesaid and the answer given severally by the Lords aforesaid to it. The King's will was, that they should report to the remainder of their fellows this answer, and that they should give their consent to it with as much haste as possible. When this was reported to the said Commons, they were much disturbed, saying and affirming that it was to great prejudice and derogation of their liberties. When our sovereign Lord the King heard that, not wishing that anything should be done either at present or at any future time, which might be against the liberty of the estate, on whose behalf they had come to Parliament, nor against the liberties of the Lords aforesaid, granted and declared with the advice and assent of these same Lords, as here follows. That is to say, the Lords may discuss amongst themselves, both in this present Parliament and in those to be held in the future, in the absence of the King, the condition of the realm, and what is needful for its betterment. And in the same way, the Commons may discuss together the same matters. Provided always, that neither the Lords on the one hand, nor the Commons on the other, make any report to our said Lord the King, concerning any grant made by the Commons, and assented to by the Lords, until the Lords and Commons have agreed together and are of one mind concerning such grant, and then it shall be reported in the accustomed manner and form, that is to say, by the mouth of the Speaker of the Commons for the time being, so that both Lords and Commons may have the thanks of our said Lord the King. Our said Lord the King wills also with the assent of the Lords aforesaid, that the proceedings in this Parliament above set forth shall not be cited as a precedent at any future time, nor be turned to the prejudice and derogation of the liberty of the estate, on whose behalf the Commons have come to this present Parliament, or shall come in the future. But he wills that he himself and all other estates shall be as free as they were before.

6.

[Petition of Ralph Cromwell, Treasurer, relating to the finances of the country, 1433. Rot. Parl., iv. 438.]

To the King oure soveraine Lord, with all humblesse, shewe I your most humble and trewe sugett Rauf Crowell; . . . howe sore ye wer charged and indetted unto youre peple what tyme I toke mye charge, howe grete youre yeerly charge was, howe small the Revenuz of youre Lond were, so that by no possibilitee they myght bere your yeerly Charge by grete Sommes, but that yhe yeerly moste renne in much gretter dette yan yhe nowe stande in oo lesse than other purveance were made, that youre revenuz were made gretter or elles youre charge made smaller.

[Answer to the petition. *Ibid.*, 439.]

The Kyng will, that for divers causes moeved and declared in this petition, his uncles of Bed' and Glouc', the Cardinall and other Lordes of his counseill, assigne and appointe a tyme to attende and see the Bokes of the Kyngis Revenuz, yeerly charges and dettes, lyke as it is desired; and ther uppon to appoynte howe and in what fore his yeerly Charges shull be borne and his dettes paied.

7.

[Loans. (*a*) Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, ii. 49-50, dated 6 March, 1430. See above, pp. 33, 35.]

Commission by advice of the Council to Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, the prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, John Darell, Geoffrey Louther, and the Sheriff of Kent, to convoke the parsons, knights, esquires and other notable persons of the county, and also the bailiffs, good men and commonalties of the city of Canterbury and of the boroughs in the said county, and to move and persuade them to lend to the King a notable sum of money for the voyage which he proposes to make in person in April to his realm of France, to make a speedy end of his wars there. The commissioners are to give surety for repayment out of the fifteenth payable on the octaves of Martinmas by grant of the commonalty of England in the last Parliament.

[(*b*) Letter from the King to the community of Beverley, 28 May, 1435. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Report on the MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, 22. From the Town Chartulary.]

Trusty and wele beloved, inasmuch as we now late instantly required as well by solemn ambassiates as by letters of our Holy Father the Pope, the General Council, our Brother the Emperor, our Uncle of Burgundy, and many other, to entend unto the means of peace to be treated betwixt us and our adversary in our realm of France, condescended to send our solemn ambassiate of the Lords of our blood and other in great number to meet with the ambassadors of our said adversary at Arras, 1st April next coming, for which cause of necessity we must send also at the said time into our said realm of France a great army to hold the field. . . . We desire and pray you that . . . ye would at this time loan unto us the sum of 200 marks, for the which our Treasurer of England shall make unto you by authority of Parliament . . . surety for your repayment . . . the which sum we pray you to be delivered unto our said Treasurer at London at the octave of Trinity next coming at the farthest. . . . Given under our Privy Seal at Westminster the 28th day of May.

[The Governors and Wardens of Beverley say that they cannot comply with the King's wish owing to the poverty of the town through bad trade, heavy taxation, and the probable opening of hostilities with Scotland, and ask the Provost to notify the King. The Provost replies as follows, asking to be excused from the task.]

For truly as I stand toward the king, as ye know, and also that other men of like condition as ye be of, strangeth them nought in this case, but makes chevance[1] under surety sufficient. . . . And therefore withouten ye be disposed to do like other of your degree, desire me not to entreat in that matter, as wele for your worship as for mine. For truly I wot well it would not be accepted of your part, and I might be held [ ][2] therewith, the which I trust ye would not in no wise. Wherefore I counsel you ye [ ][2] like other men of your degrees to do somewhat to the King's pleasure, and send it hither by [ ][2] man in haste, and I will help you to bring it to as little sum as I may with all my heart. . . . Written in haste at London, the 8 day of July. By Robert Rolleston, Wardrober and Provost.

[(*c*) The King demanded a loan of £100 from the city; by the intercession of Cardinal Beaufort this demand was first reduced to 100 marks and then remitted altogether; hence the following items. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. ix., pt. 1, App. 139. From Records of the City of Canterbury: City accounts. (Lat.).]

For two dozen capons given to the Lord Henry of Winchester, Bishop and Cardinal, who came to Canterbury with other lords and nobles of the realm, on his way to Arras in France, to seek a means of promoting perpetual peace between England and France, with the help of God on account of his successful mediation in the aforesaid manner, on behalf of the aforesaid citizens. And for vi. brace of pheasants given to the said Cardinal, for the same reason, at the same time.

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[1] loan.

[2] Sic.

And for ii. "Troughtes" given to the said Cardinal on his journey. And for barley bought for the capons aforesaid and for looking after the pheasants.

8.

[Resistance to taxation. (*a*) Opposition to collection of the fifteenth. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 5, No. 105, probably 1417. (Fr.).]

To their full gracious Lord, the bishop of Durham, Chancellor of England.

Beseecheth meekly your poor orators, Robert Dryver, and Simond Tounesend, constables of Ware and Bonjoie, tenants of Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, that forasmuch as a fifteenth was granted to our sovereign lord the King by the Lords of the last Parliament, and your said suppliants were appointed by commission as collectors of the same fifteenth, they were molested and threatened in life and limb from day to day by John Bedford the elder, and Thomas Bedford, the younger, because they wished to collect the subsidy aforesaid, to the great loss of the said sovereign Lord the King, and to the harm of your said suppliants, unless they may have your full gracious aid and succour in this matter. May it please your full gracious lordship graciously to consider the great wrong done to our said sovereign Lord the King and to the said suppliants, and to grant them writs of *sub poena* of a hundred pounds to both the said John and Thomas Bedford, directing them to be before you in the Chancery on 29 December (?) next coming, there to be examined on the matter aforesaid, for the love of God, and in the way of charity.

[(*b*) Opposition to the raising of a loan in London. Answer of the Mayor to a royal writ demanding the cause of imprisonment. Plea and Memoranda Rolls, A. 48, m. 4b, 8 Hen. V. (Lat.).]

We, Richard Whityngton, Mayor, Robert Whytyngham and John Botiller, sheriffs of the city of London, certify you that whereas a loan of two thousand marks was recently granted by the community of the said city for the expenses of the campaign of our Lord the King, whom God prosper, it was decreed by the Mayor and Aldermen of the said city to ensure its more speedy and peaceful raising that each Alderman, together with the Constables and certain collectors specially chosen for this purpose, should go from day to day to every person assessed in their wards, to ask for and raise the sum for which they were assessed and taxed. Accordingly on the twenty-ninth day of April last past, as Robert Widyngton, Alderman of the Ward of Bredstret, under the terms of the said ordinance, came to Henry Berenge, Roger Holbeche, Peter Aleyn, Nicholas Stanour, barber, Thomas Edwarde and James Bromley, in his ward aforesaid, and demanded of them divers sums of money at which they had been assessed and taxed by and amongst their neighbours of the ward aforesaid for the aforesaid loan, these same Henry, Roger, Peter, Nicholas, Thomas, and James together with other evil-doers and disturbers of the King's peace, at the head of a large number there gathered together, to prevent the collecting of the said grant and loan by the same Robert Widyngton, opposed him with violence and threats, saying that none of them would pay a penny towards the loan and grant aforesaid. Whereat there was much disturbance among the people, and immediately we heard of it, we took with us the Aldermen and other tried men of the said city and went to the ward afore said, . . . and we arrested the aforesaid Henry, Roger, Peter, Nicholas, Thomas, and James, . . . and committed them to prison, there to remain without being released, until the two thousand marks . . . shall have been fully raised.

9.

[Coinage duties formed part of the Crown revenues from the Stannaries. The receiver was a coinage official nominated by the Crown. *Cf.* G. R. Lewis, "The Stannaries," "Harvard Economic Studies," III. Receipt of his tithe by the Bishop of Exeter. "Reg. of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, 1395-1419," ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 348. (Lat.).]

Let all know by these presents that we, Edmund, by the divine mercy Bishop of Exeter, have received from John de Waterton, the Receiver of the revenue of our Lord the Prince in the County of Cornwall, and Devon, sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence sterling, as a tenth of the Coinage duties of the Stannaries, in the counties aforesaid, due to us and our church at the feast of St. Michael last before this present date, for the year just past. . . .

Clyst, Nov. 23, the 12th year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth after the Conquest.

D. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

1.

[(*a*) Jurisdiction of Parliament. Act of Attainder against John Mortimer. Rot. Parl., iv. 202. (Lat.) See also *Ibid.*, 107-8.]

On the 26th day of February in this present Parliament . . . there was read the indictment aforesaid to the same John Mortimer, in the presence of the Duke and other Lords temporal and the whole Commonalty of the said Parliament. When the whole Commonalty had heard it in full, they agreed it was a true and just indictment, in its force, form and effect, and the Commonalty asked the Duke and other Lords temporal to pronounce their affirmation of its truth and justice, and to pass sentence upon the said John Mortimer for the treasons and felonies of which he was convicted. Whereupon the Duke and other Lords temporal aforesaid assented to the request of the said Commonalty in all things, and declared the indictment to be true and just in all things according to its force, form and effect. And thereupon, the Duke aforesaid, having examined and fully understood the tenor of the said indictment, by the advice of the Lords temporal and at the request of the whole commonalty, in the present Parliament assembled, by the authority of the same Parliament ordained and enacted that the indictment aforesaid was true and just in all things according to its force, form and effect.

[(*b*) Petition in 1414 of Thomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, complaining of certain errors in the trial of his father, John Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, 1 Hen. IV. *Ibid.*, 18. (Fr.).]

That the said declaration and judgment were not pronounced by the King, but only by the Lords temporal and by the assent of the King; and this sentence ought to have been passed by our Lord the King who is the sovereign judge in all cases, and by the Lords spiritual and temporal, with the assent of the Commons of the Land, or on their petition, and not by the Lords temporal only.

2.

[Appeals to the Chancellor. (*a*) To enforce the decisions of the Courts Christian. Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, I, xvi.]

To our liege the King.

Bysechith mekely youre pour prest Roger Wodehill parson of Strete som tyme clerc of youre faders Spicerie, whos soule God assoille, that for as moche as the abbot and the convent of Glastonbury ymagineth a foe yenst the forseid parson and wrongfully feyneth ayenst him and his men actions of trespas that be untrewe in youre courtys, and prisonyth his men at Glastonbury, and ledyth a wey from his parsonage his plogh yren and his plogh and his plogh gere, that his men mowe not sowe his lande, and othir wrongys doth to him and to his men, that he dar not duelle upon his parsonage for to serve God, nether his men to do him eny servise there, in destruction of the forseid parson, his men and his chirche, but yif they have youre gracieus help; and all this wronges they do, because that the parson sewith ayenst him in court spirituell for dismes of his chirche that they have wrongfully by nome[1] the forseid parson and his chirche; notwithstondyng that the forseide parson hath had a sentence for him in the court of Caunterbury by mestre John Kemp, and an othir sentence in the court of Rome by the Popi's Auditors. That it like to zour graciouse astate considere the grete power and rychesse of the forsaid Abbot and the Convent, and the mene power of the said parson; and comand to write to youre Chanceler of Yngelond to do clepe the parties a for him and examine hem and make an ende by twene hem of all that hangith bitwene hem in youre Courtys, and so that the forseid parson have right for the mercy of Crist.

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[1] by nome = to take away from.

[The petition was sent by the King to the Chancellor, the Bishop of Durham, together with a covering letter, dated at Vernon, 28 April, 1419. Extract from the King's letter.]

We wol, that the forsaide supplicacion, wel understanden and considered by yow, ye doo calle before yow bothe parties speciffied in the same supplicacion, and, thaire causes herd, that ye doo unto hem both right and equite, and in especial that ye see that the porer partye suffre no wrong, but that ye make suche an ende in this matiere y^t we be no more vexed hereafter with thaire complaints.

[(*b*) For redress against imprisonment by the bailiff of Yarmouth. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 19, No. 486, (28-31 Hen. VI).]

To the moost reverent fader in God right worshipfull and speciall good lord the Cardinall of York primat and chauncellor of England.

Besecheth mekely youre contynual oratour Thomas Neve Gentilman that where he late beyng in a ship on the see sayling toward Dertmouth in marchaundising, ther was a Balingar of the Lord Scales and other shippes hayled a ship of Scotland and founde in hir a frenssh gentilwoman whom they toke and departed hir goodes amonges them and wolde have cast hir ovyr the ship borde into the see but as she prayed that yf ther were ony gentilman amonges them that she myght be put into his governaunce to save hir undesouled wherupon youre besecher was sent fore to come thider fro a place in the see where he abode for wynde and at his comyng thider he hering of the gentilwoman that she was longing to the duchee of Bourgoyn wold not have had to done with her but as she prayed hym at the reverence of God to have her in governaunce and save her undesoyled and to bye certeyn of hir goodes that were there taken fro hir and promysed hym truly to be payed thereof ageyn and so he bought of hir goodes to hir use as moche as cost hym xli. and had hir with hir said good for hir worship and saufte unto lande unto Yermouth and also a frere of the Chartrehous confessour to the duches of Burgoyn whom the said shipmen wolde also have cast ovyr the borde into the see and at the comyng of youre besecher unto Yermouth the Baillies of the same dyd put hym into prison and there yit kepen hym submytting that he shuld have robbed the said gentilwoman where that all that he dyd was in savyng of hir lyfe and hir honeste and goodes and all such goodes as youre besecher bought to hir use and at hir instaunce she hath hem, and youre besecher hath yit no peny for them, wherfore hit please youre highnes of youre benigne grace to graunte hym a corpus-cum-causa direct to the said Baillies of Yermouth commaunding them to delivere youre besecher oute of prison and to bringe hym before youre presence. And he shall contynuelly pray to God for you.

[(*c*) A writ of common law has no force on account of the franchise of the Abbot of Whitby. *Ibid.*, No. 471.]

To the most reverent fader in God and full gracious lord Cardinall and Archebisshop of York and Chancellor of Englande.

Mekely besechith your pour Oratour Thomas Stoughton of London fysshemonger that for asmuche as oon William Founteyns his attorney and factour bought in Flaundres certayne salt fisshes to the valu of c. mark to the use and behove of the moste honorable houshold of oure soverayn lorde the kyng and of youre said oratour also and the said fisshes to be caried at the aventure of youre said oratour. And so the saide William putte the said salte fissh in to a Shipp of Flaundres for to brynge in to this Reaume of Englande and as the said Shipp come seyling in the see in to the Temmes here come uppon the said Shipp a balinger of this Reaume of Engelond, whereof Thomas Couper Piers Thomson Thomas Egremond and Robert Andrewe were oweners and vitellers of the same Shipp, in maner of werre toke and lede to such places as them plesed at thaire voluntarye will and dispoyled the said Shipp and departed the said fisshe contrary to the lige and amyte of oure soveraigne lorde the Kynge and also contrary to the lawes of this Reaume and ayenste all reason and conscience, also for asmuch as the said Thomas Piers Thomas and Robert dwellen within the fraunchise of the Abbot of Whitby may have no maner of writte for to be executed ayenst thaym after the cours of the comune lawe of this land, and also for to be considered howe parte of the said fissh was bought to the use and behove of oure said soveraigne lorde housholde, all thees premysses considered of youre moste good grace to graunte writtes of subpena to be directed unto the said Thomas Piers Thomas and Robert to appere be fore the Kynge in his chauncellerie at a certain day by you to (be) limited there to be ruled as god faith and conscience requiren for the love of God and in way of charite.

3.

[Conflict of jurisdictions: (*a*) Hundred and Town Courts. "The Coventry Leet Book," E.E.T.S., 194. 1 October, 1440.]

Item, that on Ric. Molle, weuer, because he sued on Will. Harries, deister,[1] in the hundreth contrarie to the ordenaunce of diuers letes made in tyme past that no man shuld enplede other but in the kynges Courte in Coventre, but yf hit were be writte of thyng doon within the seid Cite, upon peyn of cs., be auctorite of this said lete was demed to pay cs. to the Maire and wardeyns to be rered.

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[1] dyer.

[(*b*) The Court of the Mayor of London and the Royal Courts. Plea and Memoranda Rolls, A. 45, m. 2. 3 Hen. V. (Lat.).]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, greeting. Whereas, John Russell, "Wolmonger," John Estoun, "joynour," and Richard Anable, "peautrer," of the city aforesaid, came to our court of the Exchequer, and informed us in that court of certain misdoings in contempt of us, committed by Thomas Fauconer, lately our escheator in the court aforesaid, unjustly and under the pretext of his official duties, and these same John, John, and Richard in the same court, summoned by our writ from our Exchequer, accused the same . . . for this cause, you have deprived John, John and Richard of their liberties in the city aforesaid, and have caused the windows and doors of each of them to be shut and sealed up to the prejudice of ourselves and in derogation of our court. We make it clear that we wish the liberties of our court to be observed unimpaired, as is due to me, that our lieges may have access to it for the purpose of prosecution and defence as is fitting. . . .

[The answer of the Mayor and Aldermen.]

We, Nicholas Wooton, Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, certify that before the arrival of the writ of our Lord the King directed to us, we had not ordered the windows and doors of John Russell and John Estoun, mentioned in the writ, to be closed or sealed, as the said writ assumes. Before the arrival of the said writ, certain windows of a shop of Richard Anable, named in the said writ, for various offences and misprisions committed by the same Richard in the city aforesaid, against the liberties and custom of the said city, had been closed and sealed by our servants and at our command, for these and for no other reasons, according to the form and effect of the custom and liberties of the said city, from all time, and the memory of man knows not the contrary to have ever been the custom or approved, and we cannot cause the windows to be opened against the liberties aforesaid. And these liberties and customs we are prepared to state on the morrow of the feast of St. Hilary in the presence of the Treasurer and Barons specified below according to the writ.

[(*c*) Between the Courts of the Mayor and Bishop at Exeter. "Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter, 1447-50," C.S., 78. From Article I of the accusations brought by the Mayor against the Bishop.]

That thare as where oon Hugh Lucays tenant of the saide Bysshop, the most or one of the most mysgoverned man of all the cite of Excetre or of all the shire afterward, the whiche hath be cause of ij pollucions of the Cathedrall Churche Cimitere of the Cite of Excetre, made affray aponn oon Richard Wode yn the Kyngis high strete atte Gyldehall dore of the saide Cite of Excetre; apon the wheche affray oon John Glasyer, a sergeant of the Cite of Excetre, arested the saide Hughe, and he brake the arest and wende his way, and the saide John and oon William Wynslo another sergeant of the same cite then sywed hym as theire prisoner yn to the saide cimitere and so yn to the saide Cathedrall Churche and seisid hym there. But as sone as ever the sergeantis were with ynne the Churche dore alle the doris there were shitte sodenly as hit were done of purpos and for a trayne,[1] notwithstondyng that Richard Druell and Thomas Sampson ij stiwardis of the Cite of Excetre folwed fresshely with ynne the space of xvj fote to kepe the pees and myght not entre yn at that dore ne none other dore but at one dore; and so they entred yn, and when they so come yn there they founde the saide sergeantis at grete myschif and theire prisoner violently with strong honde take away fro ham, and apon them by commaundement of the saide Dean and Chapitre (. . .)[2] Sr. John Jon with a dore barre and Sr. Lewis Walssheman, John Panton, and meny other minesters of the saide churche to thaym unknowed wyth swerdis, custellis,[1] long knyvis, and yryssh skenes drawyn yn theire hondis to have sleyn the saide sergeantis and wold so have sleyn ham ne hadde y be as God yeaf grace the saide stiwardis with other came yn to kepe the pees. And when they come yn they smote to the saide Richard Druell with a custell apon the Kyngis mace as hit is sygne yet, so that alle bothe stiwardis and sergeantis stode yn despayre of theire lyvys and unneth scaped out of the churche with theire lyvys, bycause of the whiche the execucion of the kyngis lawe and the violence done to theire officers yet remayneth unpunysshed to theire grete hurte hyndryng and damagis.

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[1] plot.

[2] *Sic.*

[Article X. *Ibid.*, 91.]

Also the saide Maier and Comminalte compleyneth that the saide Bisshop by his officers drawyth yn to his courtys as well his Court Christian as . . . Court Baron yn Exceter divers accions and maters that longeth not to be determined there but before the said Maier and Bailliffs, and yn especiall yn his Court Baron plees of the Crowne and other plees and maters that longeth to a lete where he hath no suche power ne jurisdiccion and the amerciamentes issuys and proffits therof comyng taketh to his awne use yn disherityng, etc.

4.

[Gaol Delivery Rolls: (*a*) Records of the Corporation of Ipswich. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. ix., pt. 1, App. 228.]

Gaol Delivery Roll 8 Henry V, containing copy of the King's writ for a delivery of all prisoners in his gaol at Ipswich, addressed to Thomas Rolf, John Stauerton, John Glemham, William Waller and John Grey; with records of the trials held on the Saturday in Easter week, 8 Henry V, of the following prisoners:—

(*a*) John Heigham of Newmarket, co. Suffolk, yeoman, charged with defect of duty in that whilst constable of the said town, he forebore to arrest John Oundle, at the request of John Brown, cordwainer of the same place, through which neglect the said John Oundle killed the said John. Verdict —Not guilty.

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[1] Large knives.

. . . .

(*d*) John Trusse of Pesenale, co. Suffolk, mercer, charged with stealing at Becclys, six pieces of cloth and other goods, the property of Nicholas Taylour of Becclys. Verdict—Not guilty.

. . . .

(*k*) John Grenelane of London, baker, charged with stealing, at Carlton Coluylle in a place called Morefordbregge, four marks in money out of the purse of John the servant of John Bernevyll. Verdict—Guilty. Sentence—To be hung. The said John has no chattels.

[(*b*) "Records of Mediaeval Oxford, Coroners' Inquests, etc.," ed. H. E. Salter, 50. Roll no. 57 m., 1d. (Lat.).]

Friday, 6 August, 1406.

Inquest before Gilbert Burtone, one of the King's coroners for the county of Oxford, on Friday before the feast of St. Laurence, 7 Henry IV, on a view of the body of Walter Barliche, who died in Stokwelle-strete, by the four nearer parishes, *viz.*, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Giles in Northgate Hundred, St. Thomas and Holy Cross. The jury say that on Thursday last, at the tenth hour of the night, John Frensh labourer, and Agnes, his wife, broke into the close of the garden of the said Walter and stole his goods, to the value of 2s. Afterwards they returned and assaulted him, John with a staff worth 1d. and Agnes with a knife worth 1d.; and John smote him on the head even to the brain, and Agnes smote him in the throat with her knife; and so they slew him; and immediately John fled, and Agnes was sent to the Castle prison; and they say that John had goods to the value of 5s., which remain in the custody of William Wrasteler, bailiff of Northgate Hundred, together with the staff and knife.

5.

[Roll of the Presentments of the Mickleton Jury. "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," ii. 39. (Lat.).]

Inquest of the Great Tourn taken before John Samon, Mayor of the town of Nottingham, on Thursday next after the Feast of S. Wilfrid the Bishop, in the 9th year of the reign of King Henry the IVth after the Conquest, by 12 jurors. (13 October.)

Firstly, they say, that Thomas Arnold has blocked up a lane leading from Saynt Jame Lane to Berwardlane.

They also say, that William Spicer and William Bradmere have blocked up the end of Berwardlane with the throwing up of earth on either side, so that they prevent carts passing through the said lane.

They also say, that John Whaplington occupies the common soil with a barn near the "Chapelbarr".

They also say, that William Pomfret has placed timber upon "Tymberhyll" in the King's highway, to the nuisance of the neighbours; and moreover they say that through the default of that timber there lying John Ward, barber, was killed.

. . . .

They also say, that John Sherwood occupies the highway with "stokkes" and "stubbes" to the nuisance of the neighbours and of the people of our Lord the King.

6.

[A person named John Lyalton had been accused by one Robert Norreys of treason; the parties agreed to appeal to arms. Minutes of the Council, *c.* 23 May, 1453. Nicolas, "Proc.," vi. 133.]

Be ther maad a prive seel in due fourme to the Chaunceller of Englande for to do make writtes unto the shirieffes of London thay for to do make a skaffold for the King and barrers and listes sufficeant and convenable, and also gravel and sonde the grounde in Smithfelde where the bataille shalbe at the Kinges costes and expenses and thay thereof to have allowance in thaire forme that thay be to yilde unto us for thair saide office.

Item be ther maad an other prive seel in due fourme to Jenkyn of Stanlay sergeant of the Kinges armures or to his deputee to do make . . . sufficeant and convenient armure and wepens and deliver it to John Lialton appellant for his fight in Smithfelde.

Item be ther maad an other lettre of prive seel in due fourme to Thomas Bee staynyor oon of the counsail with the (. . .)[1] for him at the Kinges costes and expenses suche thinges for the saide battaille as belangeth to his crafte.

7.

[Jurisdiction of the Constable. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, i. 458, dated 4 February, 1401.]

Commission to the King's kinsman, Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland, Constable of England, to hear and determine divers unaccustomed cases and business concerning the estate, fame, and condition of the King's person and the dignity of the crown, although they are such that by their nature they cannot be discussed or determined by pretext of the office of constable or by the common law of the realm but only by the King's hearing or commission.

8.

[Commission of oyer and terminer. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, vi. 54, dated 28 September, 1452.]

Commission of oyer and terminer to . . . in the counties of Essex, Hertford, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Rutland, Lincoln, Northampton, Buckingham, Bedford, Oxford, and Berks, touching all treasons, insurrections, rebellions, felonies, lollardries, trespasses, convocations, combinations, associations, conspiracies, misprisions, confederacies, false allegiances, riots, routs, robberies, depredations, homicides, murders, rapes of women, congregations, unlawful gatherings, negligences, falsities, deceptions, contempts, concealments, maintenances, oppressions, extortions, champerties, ambidextries and other offences.

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[1] *Sic.*

9.

[Exercise of the King's prerogative of pardon, 1444. S. Bentley, "Excerpta Historica," 281. *Cf.* "Brut," E.E.T.S., 485.]

By the King.

Right reverende fader in God right trusty and right welbeloved. We grete you wel and howgh be it that Thomas Keruer is founde byfore oure Juges gilty of the detestable and factious crime of high tresone touching oure Royal persone and adjuged accordyng his demerytes to be drawen hanged and qwartered, yet we for certeyne consideracions mevynge us be advyse to tempre in this cas mercy with rigoure . . . and so have pardoned hym after the seide drawyng and hangyng don his life, committyng hym natheles unto prisone there to abyde til hit shall like us othir wise to ordeyne for hym wherfore we wol that ye do make unto the seide Thomas oure lettres of pardone under oure grete seal . . . and more over we pray you that in oure seide lettres of pardone ye do set sueche a clause be the whiche we wol that it be opynly knowene to all our subjectis of what estat or degre they be of and though they were next of oure bloode if they falle in cas sembale that God forbede, we shal not shewe theim nother favor nor grace but do them dewly to be punysshed after thexigence of theire trespas. . . .

. . . Yeven at Wycombe under the signet of thegle iiij day of August.

To the right reverend fader in God, oure right trusty and right welbeloved tharchebysshop of Canterbury, our Chanceller of Englande.

10.

[Intimidation of a jury. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 13, No. 85, 24 Hen. VI.]

To the right reverent fader in god John Archebusshop of Caunterbury Chaunceller of Englond.

Sheweth Thomas Lambard your poeuer oratour how ther as oon Roger Crome suyth ayeins your seid Besecher an assise of fressh force in the kynges court a fore the mair and Sherif of the Citee of Yorke of free hold in Yorke oon William Cliffe late that oon of the Sherifs of the seid citee before whome to gedir with the seid mair and that other of the seid sherifs the seid plee honged ther to be determyned, by colour of the seid office of the seid Williame broght ynne to the seid court atte divers dayes of the seid plee divers extorcioners riotours and mysdoers unknowen in affray thretyng and terrour of the persones empanelled in the seid assise to the entente to ouerlede[1] and mysdoo as wele your seid besecher as all suche persones empanelled willyng and sette to say troughth therine with out any favour shewed to the partie of the seid Roger so that suche persones empanelled some of theym drust not appere and some apperyng drust not sey troughthe ther ynne to the gret hurt and hynderyng of your seid besecher, wherof he hath no remedie atte comune lawe with oute your gracious socour. Besechyng your good and gracious lordship that ye consideryng the premisses ther vppon will graunte a writte directe to the seid William to appeir afore the Kyng in his chancellerie atte a certeyn day and vppon a certein payn by you to be lymeted ther by thaime to be examyned of the premisses, and ther ynne further to doo and receyve as right troughthe and conscience requiren.

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[1] Oppress.

11.

[Bribery of a sheriff. From a letter from John Osbern to John Paston, 27 May, 1451. "Paston Letters," ii. 241, No. 193.]

Plese it your masterchep to wete that I have spoke wyth the Shereff at hese placez, . . . he seyde he wold do for yow that he may, excepte for the aquitell of the Lord Molyns men, in so meche as the Kyng hath wrete to hym for to shewe favour to the Lord Moleyns and hese men, and as he seyth the indytement longyth to the Kyng, and not to yow, and the Lord Molyns a gret lord. Also, as he seyth, now late the Lord Molyns hath sent hym a letter, and my Lord of Norffolk anoder, for to shew favour in these indytements, he darnot abide the joporte of that, that he shuld offende the Kinges commaundment. He know not how the Kyng may be informed of hym, and what shal be seyde to hym.

And than I sayde as for any joporte that he shuld abyde in any thing that he doth for yow, or be your desyre, you have offered hym, and wol performet, sufficient sewerte for to save hym harmeless, and therefore I supposid ther wold non resonable man thynk but that he myght do for yow wyth owte any joporte. And then he seyde he myth non sewerte take that passid C li.; and the Lord Molyns is a gret lord, he myght soon cause hym to lese that, and meche mo . . . but be hese feyth, as he swore, if the Kyng wryte ayan to hym he wol no lenger abyde the joporte of the Kyngges wrytyng, but he trustyth to Godde to impanell seche men as shuln to hise knowleche be indeferent, and non comon jurors. As me semyth it wolde do goode and ye wolde gett a comaundment of the Kyng to the Shereff for to shew yow favour, and to impanell jantelmen, and not for to favour non seche riotts, etc.; for he seyde, that he sent yow the letter that the Kyng sent hym, and ye seyde a man shuld gete seche on for a noble.

Item, I remembred hym of the promyses that he hath made to Temperley, and that if he wold make yow very trew promys, ye wolde rewarde hym as meche as he wold desire, or any other resonable man for him, and asmoche and mor then any adverserry ye have wold gef hym; than he seyde he toke never no mony of non of hem alle. There was proferid hym at Walsyngham for the Lord Molyns xx. nobles, he had not a peny; moreover, I proferid hym, if he wold make yow a promys that ye myght veryly trust upon hym, ye wold geff hym in hande as he wold desire, or to leve a summe if he wold a named it in a mene mannys hand, and seche as he hath trust to. And then he seyde, if he myght do for yow, or if he do any thyng for yow, then he wol take yowre mony wyth a good wyl; . . . I conceyve veryly he hath made promys to do hese part that they shul be a quytte, . . . but he lokyth aftyr a gret brybe, but it is not for to trust hym veryly with owte, that he may not chese.

12.

[Defiance of the law. (*a*) Petition from John Paston to Parliament, 1450. "Paston Letters," ii. 127, No. 102.]

The sed Lord sent to the seid mansion a riotous peple, to the nombre of a thowsand persones, with blanket bendes[1] of a sute as riseres ageyn your pees, arrayd in maner of werre, with curesse, brigaunders, jakks, salettes, gleyfes, bowes, arows, pavyse,[2] gonnes, pannys with fier and teynes[3] brennyng therein, long cromes[4] to drawe doun housis, ladders, pikoys, with which thei myned down the walles, and long trees with which thei broke up yates and dores, and so came in to the seid mansion, the wiff of your besecher at that tyme beyng ther in, and xij. persones with her; the which persones thei dreve oute of the seide mansion, and myned down the walle of the chambre wher in the wyff of your seid besecher was, and bare here oute at the yates, and cutte a sondre the postes of the howses and lete them falle, and broke up all the chambres and cofres within the seid mansion, and rifelyd, and in maner of robery bare awey all the stuffe, aray, and money that your seyd besecher and his servauntes had ther, on to the valew of cc. li, and part therof sold, and part ther of yaffe, and the remenaunt thei departed among them, to the grete and outrageous hurt of your seid besecher, saying openly, that if thei myght have found ther yowr seid besecher, and on John Damme, which is of councell with hym, and divers oder of the servauntes of your seid besecher, thei shuld have died.

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[1] Bands of white woollen cloth.

[2] Large shields.

[3] Metal rods.

[4] A Norfolk word, signifying a staff with a crook at the end of it.

[(*b*) Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 117, 1428.]

This same yere betwen Estren and Witsontyd a fals Breton mordred a wydewe in here bed, the whiche fond hym for almasse withoughte Algate in the subarbes of London, and bar awey alle that sche hadde, and afterward he toke socour of Holy Chirche at Seynt Georges in Suthwerk; but at the laste he tok the crosse and forswore the kynges land; and as he wente hys way it happyd hym to come be the same place where he had don that cursed dede, and women of the same paryssh comen out with stones and canell dang, and there maden an ende of hym on the hyghe strete, so that he wente no ferthere notwithstondynge the constables and othere men also, whiche hadde hym undir governaunce to conduyt him forward, for there was a gret companye of them, and hadde no mercy, no pyte.

13.

[Attempts to suppress livery and maintenance. (*a*) Letter from Henry VI to the bailiffs of Bridport, 24 June, 1439. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. vi., App., 496.]

It is commen to our knowledge by diverse credible reapportes, that certain indisposed personnes presume and take upone theym to use reteindres, lyveres, bagieux, and cognoissaunces, within the said toune, ayenst owre laudable statute in suche caas provided, by occasion wherof discordes and divisiouns have ensued to the perturbaunce of oure peax, subversioun of good rule, and inquietacioun of our subgiettes ther, to theire universal hurtes and to owre noo little displeasur. Wherfore we . . . wool therefor, and charge you, to see that noo maner personne inhabitaunt amonge you use ne were heraftre any lyveres, or in any wise be reteyned contrary to our said statute.

[(*b*) Presentment of a jury, Hundred of Offlow (Staffs), 1 Hen. V. P.R.O., Ancient Indictments, Bundle 113. (Lat.).]

The jury present on their oath that whereas . . . (here the substances of the Statutes 1 and 7 Hen. IV are given, see S.R., ii. 113, 155) William Bermyngeham, of Bermyngeham, in the county of Warwick, knight, on the Monday next after Easter in the first year of the reign of our lord the King that now is, gave a livery of cloth to John Haywardyn of Aldridge in the county of Stafford, carpenter, William Blimhill of Alta Warre[1] in the county of Stafford, yeoman, and to John of Dunston of Aldridge in the county of Stafford, yeoman, that is to say, to each of them three yards of cloth, green and white in colour, at Litchfield, they not being servants or officials of the said William Bermyngeham or of his council according to the terms of either one or the other statute, and therefore contrary to the form of the statutes and ordinances aforesaid. And that the said John Haywardyn, William Blimhill, and John of Dunston, took the liveries from the said William Bermyngeham on that day and year in contempt of our lord the King that now is, and contrary to the form of the statutes and ordinances aforesaid.

14.

[Oath of a sheriff, 1447. Cant. and York Soc., Vol. xxiii., "Reg. of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, 1422-48," 290.]

Ye shall serve the kynge wele and trewly in the office of the shiriff of Hereford, and doo the kynges profet in all the thynge that longeth to you be way of your to do as ferforth as ye kan or may. Ye shall trewly kepe the kynges rightes and all that longeth to the corone. Ye shall not assent to decresse to lassyng or to concelement of the kynges rightes or of his franchesies. And wherever ye shall have knowledge that the kynges rightes or the rightes of the corone ben conceled or withdrawe, be it in landes, rentes, franchesies, or suytes, or any other thynges, ye shall do your trewe power to make hem to be restored to the kyng ayen. And yif ye may not do hit, ye shall certifie the kyng or summe of his counseill therof, such as ye holde for certen wyll say hit to the kyng. Ye shall not respite the kynges dettes for any gift or favour where ye may reyse hem without to grete grevaunce of the dettours. Ye shall trewlie and rightwislie trete the people of your shirrifwek and do right as wele to poverer as to riche in all that longeth to your office. Ye shall do no wrong to any man for any yeft or good beheste or promise of gud, for favour or hate. Ye shall destourbe no mannes right. Ye shall trewlie acquite at the Escheker all tho of whome ye shall any thyng receyve of the kynges dettes. Ye shall no thyng take whereby the kyng may lese or whereby that right may be destourbled, and trewlie serve all the kynges writtes als ferforth as hit shall be in your konnyng. Ye shall none have to be your undersherif, or any of the shirif clerkes, the last yer passed; ye shall take noo bailiffs in to your service but such as ye wyll answer for. Ye shall make iche of your bailiffs to swer suche othe as ye make yourself in that that longeth to their occupacion. Ye shall resceyve no writte by you or any of youres unseled, or any seale under the seale of any justice save of justice in Eyre or justice assigned in the same shire where ye be shirrif in or of justice of Newgate. Ye shall make your bailiffs of the moost trewe and sufficient men in the contrey. Also ye shall do all your payne and diligence to distruy and make to sese all manner erreses and errours commonly called Lollardies within your baillifwik from tyme to tyme to all your power, and assiste and to be helpyng to all the ordenaryes and commissaries of hooly chirche, and favour and maynteyne hem as oftymes as ye shall be requyred by the said ordinaryes and commyssaryes. Ye shall be debellyng[1] in youre propour persone within your baillifwik for the tyme ye shall be in your said office. Ye shall not let your shirrifwik or any baillage thereof to ferme to any man; and also ye shall trewly sette and retourne resonable and due issues of theym that ben within your baillifwik after their estate and their honoure, and make your panelles yourself. Thees thinges all ye shall trewly kepe as God help you and his sayntes.

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[1] Presumably Great Barr.

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[1] dwelling.

STEPNEY PUBLIC MILE END LIBRARIES

BOOK III. ECCLESIASTICAL.

1.

[The Conciliar movement. (*a*) In 1408 it was proposed to hold a General Council for the purpose of bringing the Papal Schism to an end. England had hitherto supported Gregory XII. Wals., "Hist. Angl.," R.S., ii. 279. (Lat.).]

On the morrow of the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, a council of the clergy, attended by the Doctors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, was held in London to consider whether their dues and obedience should be withheld from the Pope or not. For he, against his vow and oath, had left the place where, according to the agreement made by him, means towards procuring the unity of the Church were to be considered.

[It was decided to withhold the dues pending a settlement. *Ibid.*, 280.]

In the year 1409, after the Feast of Epiphany, the Archbishop of Canterbury summoned the clergy of the realm to London, in order to elect suitable persons to go to the General Council at Pisa. Amongst whom were elected Master Robert Hallam and the Bishop of Salisbury.

[The Council met at Pisa in May, 1409. *Ibid.*, 281.]

In the year 1410 (1409), according to the agreement, the Lord Cardinals of each College, that is of Gregory and Benedict, assembled in order to bring about an effectual and lasting reformation of the Church. . . . Having invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit, they agreed to elect one who should be the head of the whole Church when the other two had resigned. They gave him the name of Alexander V.

[(*b*) Neither Pope accepted the decision of the Council of Pisa and a Council was summoned to meet at Constance in November, 1414, to effect (1) the unity of the Church under one Pope, (2) the reformation of the clergy, (3) the extirpation of heresy. The following decision was made in England pending the result of the Council. Rot. Parl., iv. 71. March, 1415. (Fr.).]

Our Lord the King, considering the long vacancy of the Apostolic See . . . with the full and deliberate advice and consent of the Lords and Commons of his Realm being in this present Parliament, wills and ordains, that persons elected or to be elected during the vacancy of the Apostolic see, shall receive the confirmation from their Metropolitan . . . and royal letters, should they be required, shall be addressed to the said Metropolitans, straitly charging them to make such confirmations.

[The result of the Council was announced to Henry V, in letter from Sigismund dated November, 1417, at Constance. John Huss, the Bohemian heretic, was condemned, but the second question was not discussed. J. Caro, "Aus. der Kanzlei Sigmunds," 136. (Lat.).]

Moreover, by the decision of the Sacred Council on Monday, the eighth day of this month of November, the most reverend Fathers in Christ, and Lords Cardinal of the most Holy Church of Rome, here present to the number of twenty-three, making together the sacred College, as well as six elected and deputed from each of the five nations, entered into conclave before sunset, as the custom is, for the business of the election and installation of the future Pontiff, in order that the Greatest of Masters might pour His grace upon them. When they were thus assembled in conclave, and were continuing together in prayer on the eleventh day of the same month, they agreed unanimously, with no opposing voice, in the election to the place of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom was given by our Lord authority to bind and loose, of the most holy father in Christ, Oddo of St. George, now Cardinal of Colonna.

[(*c*) The Council of Constance had asserted the superiority of a General Council to the Pope in matters of faith, and made provision for their frequent meeting. In accordance with these decrees, a Council was summoned to meet at Basle in 1432, to which English envoys were subsequently sent. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 135.]

And the same yere began the generall counsell at Basill of all cristen londes, and theder kam the pragans, thei of prage; and on master Pers[1] a clerk, that whas of Englond, and whas Renagate, and another heretyk cam theder with hem. And there were many articles and poyntes of the ffeith determyned and spokyn of; and so they departyd withowten eny lettyng. And the case whas for thei of prage had worthi clerkis of owre feith in plege for hem of Prage for to goo sauf and come sauf. And ellis they hadden goo to the fire, as men supposed that were ther.

[To detract attention from the reform of the Church, the question of union with the Greeks was brought up. The Council was transferred to Ferrara in 1437, and to Florence in 1439. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 182.]

And the same yere (1439), att the generalle counseylle, the Emperoure of Costantyne the Nobylle [*sic*] and hys sone, whythe alle the clergy of Gryke, obeyd hym unto the Chyrche of Rome and certayne artyculys of the faythe; and they hylde more than v.c. yere, and alle the realme of Ermonye[2] that haddyn been owte ix.c. yere, fro the beleve not on the Holy Goste, nor on the sacrament, nor noo Pyrgatorye, nor noo suffragys of Hooly Chyrche, as prayers, and almysdedys. And there were of Rome viij cardinallys and moo thanne v.c. myters, whythe owte docters. And thus was proclaymyd at Powlys Crosse the xxviij day of August above sayde, etc.

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[1] Peter Payne of Oxford, who fled to Bohemia in 1417.

[2] Armenia.

2.

[Oath of the Bishop of Hereford, Thomas Spofford, at his consecration, 24 May, 1422. Cant. and York Soc., Vol. xxiii., "Reg. of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, 1422-48," 5. (Lat.).]

I, Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, from this hour for ever will be faithful and obedient to blessed Peter, the holy and apostolic Roman Church, and my master, the Lord Martin V, the pope, and his successors canonically appointed; I will not by counsel, or consent, or by deed assist in the loss of life or limb or arrest under false pretences; to no one will I wittingly reveal to their hurt what others have confided to me, either myself or by messengers or letters; I will be a supporter of the papacy and the regalia of St. Peter, and will maintain and defend them, saving my order, against all men; I will treat with honour the legate of the apostolic see in his coming and going, and will help him in his needs; and will come when summoned to the synod unless I am hindered by any canonical hindrance. I will visit the Roman court, if on this side of the mountains, every two years, if beyond, every three, either personally or by my delegate, unless I shall have apostolic dispensation. I will not sell the goods of my episcopal household, nor will I give nor pledge any of my episcopal possessions, nor sub-infeudate or in any way alienate them, without the knowledge of the Roman Pontiff. so help me God and His holy Gospels.

3.

[Opposition of the King to papal provisions. (*a*) Letter from the King signed by the Council, to the Prior and Convent of Worcester, 22 November, 1433. Nicolas, "Proc.," iv. 183.]

By the Kynge,

Welbeloved in Godde, for as muche as late the Communes in this oure present parlement by consideracion of neghenesse of bloode that oure welbelovede cousin Maister Th. (Bourchier) attiegneth unto us and the connynge and vertues that resten in his persone desirede of us openly in oure saide parlement to have him specialy recommended unto oure chirche of Wircestre now beyng voide by the dethe of Th. (Polton) last bischopp there. We consideryng the saide oure Communes goode desire and request and also the vertues and honeste conversacion that resten in the persone of oure saide cousin . . . desire and pray you hertely that in youre elleccion next to be maade of hym that shal be by you chosen into your bisshoppe ye wol at this oure specialle prayer have oure saide cousin specialy recommended where ye shall not oonly do to the saide oure chirche singuler proffit and ease, but also have us for that the more enclinede at alle tymes herfore to do thinges that may lyke you.

[(*b*) Letter from the King to Dr. Thomas Brouns, Dean of Salisbury, 5 November, 1434. *Ibid.*, 285.]

Maystre Thomas. For as muche as we be certified that oure holy fader the Pope hathe providede you in this oure reaume unto the chirche of Wircestre the whiche as ye knowe wel ye mowe nat accepte nor obtene by the lawes of this oure lande withoute oure assente furst hadde theruppon. And thenketh fully that it was never is ne shal be in oure entente that ye shal have oure assent to that chirche ne noone other whiles ye laboure as we ben enformed that ye doo ayenst oure wille in this matire. We charge you streitly as ye wol answere unto us at your peril that anoone after the sighte of thise oure lettres ye certifie unto oure saide holy fadre alle your fulle and utterest disposicion in this matire and also hider to us the same by the berer of theese, consideryng that the cause of the longe vacacion of the saide chirche withoute an hede to us and oure counseil agreable and ye in cause it is pitously hurt in many maneres. Yeven etc.

To Maystre Thomas Brouns dean of Salisbury.

[(*c*) Letter from the Pope, Eugenius IV, to Henry VI, 23 March, 1435. "Cal. of Papal Letters," viii. 216.]

To Henry King of England. The promotion of Thomas (Bourchier), elect of Worcester, the pope has put off until now

. . . on account of many reasonable causes. . . . For there was the obstacle of age . . . There was the obstacle of the pope's honour. . . . Moreover, if the pope had complied sooner with the King's wish there would not have been wanting in the council (of Basle) criticisms not only of the pope's inconstancy but also of the King's insistent postulations. . . . The subsequent voidance, therefore, of the Church of Rochester seeming to offer a means of saving the honour of (Thomas Brouns) elect of Rochester and the pope's, the pope decided to comply with the King's wish. . . . Seeing that as the King perceives, the pope is transgressing the law in order to please him, the King must please the pope, not by transgressing, but by observing the sacred canons. The pope bids him behold all Christian realms and consider their obedience and devotion to the apostolic see. He will find none except his own, in which full obedience is not rendered to the Roman pontiff, the vicar of Jesus Christ. What shame this brings to him and the realm let him and his counsellors reflect! The King's father perceived this and had decided to give Martin V full liberty of conferring benefices, as many can testify, but death cut short his purpose. . . . The pope therefore exhorts the King to take up his father's intention, in order that that so-called statute may be removed by which the pope's collations of benefice of the realm are hindered.

4.

[Complaint of the Commons of the evil effect of the Statute of Provisors, 1415. Rot. Parl., iv. 81. (Fr.).]

Your Commons full humbly beseech you, that whereas formerly the clergy of the Realm were increasing and flourishing and studying in your Universities of Oxford and Cambridge under Doctors of Divinity, both canon and civil law. . . . now the contrary is the case, and since the Statute concerning Provision and against Provisors was made by Parliament, the number of clergy at the said Universities has lamentably diminished . . . and great and intolerable errors and heresies have arisen against God and man. . . . May it please your very excellent lordship . . . with the advice of your full wise council of Lords spiritual and temporal . . . graciously to provide a remedy.

5.

[Opposition to the wording of a Papal Bull, requiring the obedience of the Chapter of Hereford to the Bishop. Cant. and York Soc., vol. xxiii., "Reg. of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, 1422-48," 19. (Lat.).]

Instrument drawn up on the exhibition of Apostolic Letters to the President and Chapter of Hereford.

In the name of God, Amen, let it be known by this present public instrument that in the year of Our Lord (1322), on the first day of July, at about the first hour of the day, there were assembled in the Chapter House of the Church of Hereford, making a chapter, honourable and discreet men, the president and chapter, that is to say, Masters John Castell, Edmund Ryall, and John Staneway, resident canons, the chapter being held for the reason now to be stated; John Saunton, clerk, etc., Thomas, etc., and the procurator general . . . before me, a notary, and before the undersigned witnesses, exhibited to the president and chapter the apostolic letters, and explained their contents, which here follow.

[Here follows the bull transferring Spofford, elect of Rochester, to Hereford. See *ibid.*, pp. 2-4. The letter follows the bull.]

. . . We order you, by apostolic letters, that you accept the elect graciously and with honour as the father and pastor of your souls, showing him the reverence and obedience due to him. . . .

After the reception of the letter, they considered its contents amongst themselves, and Master John Staneway himself read them through. When he had finished, the president and chapter answered with a protest saying that they would willingly obey the apostolic letters in all things, but that they owed no obedience to the reverend father nor would they give it in any form. After which both the president and chapter and John Santon, the procurator aforesaid, ordered me, a notary public, to draw up a public instrument concerning these matters.

6.

[A Papal Bull cannot override the authority of Parliament in the matter of taxation. Answer to a petition from the Cistercians as to their conduct with regard to a Papal Bull, granting them dispensation from the payment of tenths to the King, 1401. Rot. Parl., iii. 465. (Fr.).]

It is agreed by the King and the Lords in Parliament, that the order of Cistercians shall remain as it was before the bulls cited in this petition were purchased. And that any of the said order, or of any other order, religious or secular of whatever estate or condition they be, who shall put into execution the said bulls, or shall purchase others like them, or shall in any way take advantage of such bulls already purchased or to be purchased, shall be proceeded against according to law, in two months from the time the warning was issued to them, by writ of Praemunire. And if they refuse to appear, or are found guilty, they shall be put out of the King's protection, and shall suffer the penalties and forfeitures contained in the Statute of Provisors made in the 13th year of King Richard.

7.

[A petition that aliens shall not enjoy any benefice within the realm for the following reasons, 1413. Rot. Parl., iv. 11. (Fr.). *Cf.* S.R., ii. 176.]

Since French aliens have increased in number to the detriment of the King's lieges, and carry out of the realm money belonging to the King and his realm, and reveal the plans of the King to our said enemies in France. . . .

The King assents, except for Conventual Priors Alien and also all other priors who have been instituted and inducted;

so that they be Catholics and give surety that they will not reveal or aid in discovering the plans and secrets of the realm.

8.

[Opposition to the appointment of a royal nominee to the Deanery of Wells, 1446. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Calendar of the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, ii. 675.]

Exemplification of an act made in the Star Chamber at Westminster, 11 July last, by the advice of the lords of the council there, in these words:

The xj day of Juil, the yere etc^a xxiiij in the Sterred Chambre at Westminster, my Lord of Caunterbury, chaunceller of Engelande, being there present, my lords the bysshops of Salesbury and Bathe, and the marquys of Suffolk, by the kynges commaundement; Reciting to the chanons of the churche of Welles, residencers of the same churche, that is to say, Maistres John Peterton, doctor of divinitee, Richard Cordon, doctor of lawe, John Raynold, John Bernard, and William Fulford, peticioners of the bille, whereof the tenure ensieueth in this wise:

[They complain that John Delabere, the King's almoner, had sued for provision to the Deanery of Wells, contrary to its customs.]

That he had in commaundement to yeve them answere to the sayd bille, saide that it was the kynges wille and entent that they sholde noon other wyse conseyve bot that he is and wolbe protectour and defendour of the churche of Welles . . . and is content and wol that thei procede to th'elleccion of dean there in maner and fourme as it hath ben accustomed and used in the time of his progenitours . . . ; And that thei pursuiewe and defende theire right of the sayd churche both in courte spirituelle and temporelle, as it shalle be thought unto thaim liefful, any provision made by oure holy fader the pope to the sayd deanery not withstandyng; And that thei so doo, the kyng is ryght wel content and it shalbe unto his highnesse noo displesere; And he wil that this answer be enacted bothe in his counsail and chauncellerie, and that to be exemplified undre his greet and prive seals.

9.

[Refusal of a grant by the convocation of the province of Canterbury, 26 October, 1424, demanded on behalf of the King. Wilkins, "Conc.," iii. 429. (Lat.).]

That such was the poverty of the clergy . . . that it was impossible for them to grant a general subsidy . . . And the proctors further said that they had no authority at all by the instructions given to them by those whom they represented to grant a subsidy and therefore they humbly sought to be excused from making any such grant. Not being content with this answer, the King's councillors again entered the chapter house . . . but the same reply was given them; and because many abbots and priors and other bishops of the province were not personally present and the matter concerned them personally, the Lord Archbishop, by the advice of his fellow-bishops, prorogued convocation until 31 January. Three days after this the King's councillors returned, . . . all the prelates, and both bishops and abbots and priors then present, unanimously decreed, that one whole tenth be granted to the lord the King; whilst some wished to persuade the proctors of the clergy by lawful means to make a similar grant, others of the prelates and bishops thought that their consent was of no force or moment; so that there was a division between the prelates and the clergy concerning the grant. . . . As the clergy still refused to make the grant, on the 6th of February the councillors of the King came to the council for the fourth time . . . and when after some time no answer was forthcoming from the clergy, they withdrew. . . .

On the 17th of February, . . . a final answer having been given in similar terms, the Archbishop, after consultation with his fellow-bishops, dissolved the convocation to the glory of God.

10.

[A complaint of the evils resulting from benefit of clergy, 1455. The object in making offences high treason was to exclude benefit of clergy. The petition was refused. Rot. Parl., v. 333.]

To the Kyng oure Soverain Lorde; prayen the comens of this present Parlement. That forasmuch as murders, manslaughters, rapes, robberies, and other theftes, felously doon withynn this youre roialme, daily encresen and multiplien, and yn substaunce moost by the persones that bene clerks and can rede, by cause of the grete boldnes of thair clergy: . . . That it please your Highnes . . . to establishe and ordeyne . . . that if any persone . . . be . . . oones attaynted and convicte of any murder, manslaughter, rape, robberie, or thefte, and for thaym or any of thaym, as Clerk convicted or attaynted . . . beyng . . . oones comitted to any ordinary withynn this your roialme, and that same persone after the tyme that he is so oones comitted to the ordinary, be by dewe meanes of the lawe of this your seid roialme, afterward endited or appeled of any murder, manslaughter, rape, robberie or thefte or other felony doon by him . . . that the same . . . be demed high treson.

11.

[The probate of wills was in the hands of the ecclesiastical courts. Presentment of a jury, hundred of Cuttlestone (Staffs). 1 Hen. V. P.R.O., Ancient Indictment, Bundle 113. (Lat.).]

The jury say that William Marche, chaplain and official of John Macworth, dean of Stafford, on the Saturday next after the Feast of S. Michael and All Angels, in the first year of King Henry the fifth after the Conquest, took from William Hewester, executor of the will of Felicia, wife of John Ware, for the probate of the will of the said Felicia, forty shillings under the pretext of his office, extortionately and against the form of the statute,

12.

[Monasteries. (*a*) Preamble to the injunctions for Huntingdon Priory from the Register of Bishop Gray, fo. 197, 9 or 10 May, 1432. This preamble was used four times by Bishop Gray during the visitation of his diocese. Cant. and York Soc., vol. xvii., "Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln," 75. (Lat.).]

William, by divine permission Bishop of Lincoln, to our beloved sons the prior and convent of the priory and canons of blessed Mary of Huntingdon, of the order of S. Augustine, of our diocese, health, grace, and blessing. In our visitation some time ago, by our right as ordinary, of you and your priory aforesaid, both in its head and members, and upon holding inquiry with some diligence upon the state thereof, we found no good thing in the same which might be likened to religion, save only the outward sign, with which that which is marked therewith accords not. Alas for sorrow! religion is no more; love is driven out; the regular observances, nay, the very rule which was given to canons by the illustrious doctor Saint Augustine, and which you say that you have professed, are almost wholly forgotten; the divine office, by night and likewise by day, is neglected; obedience is violated; the alms are wasted; hospitality is not kept; and indeed the whole provision for matters temporal, without which this present life cannot be carried on, is utterly brought to nought. There is nothing else here but drunkenness and surfeit, disobedience and contempt, private aggrandisement and apostasy, drowsiness—we do not say incontinence—but sloth and every other thing which is on the downward path to evil and drags man to hell.

[(*b*) From the injunctions for the monastery of Wellow, by Bishop Flemyng, 22 March, 1422-3. *Ibid.*, 126. (Lat.).]

Also we enjoin and command you the canons, as above, that when strangers come to see your monastery and the inward parts thereof for their pleasure, no one of you dare to take upon himself to show them to the same by himself, unless he have been deputed for this purpose by the abbot or another of his superiors. . . . Also we enjoin and command you the lord abbot, as above, that you treat your canons softly in kindly and courteous and fatherly wise, and that, for the first and second time, when the same are in fault, you meet them with a gentle warning and the loving-kindness of a father, and the third time, if they do not correct themselves, duly rebuke them with the rod of the regular discipline of your order.

[(*c*) *Ibid.*, 66. (Lat.).]

Injunctions and ordinances made in the monastery of Godstow, of the order of S. Benedict, of the diocese of Lincoln, by the reverend father in Christ and lord, the lord William, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln, in his visitation held by the same in the said monastery during the year of our Lord 1432, and in the second year of his translation.

In the first place, that all the nuns, those at any rate who are able, be present every night at matins in the quire; . . .

Also that strangers who come to the monastery be straightway brought into the Abbess' hall by the gatekeeper of the monastery; . . .

Also that the bailiff of the monastery who now is hold no private conversations with any nun, since he says that there is no good woman in the monastery.

Also that there be no watchings or drinkings after compline; . . .

Also that seemly and sufficient cells be set in order in the infirmary for nuns who are in bad health.

Also that the young nuns go not out of the cloister precinct to the outer court alone, . . .

Also that no secular person, friar or other man of religion enter the cloister precincts for the nuns' lodgings after compline or before the bell rings for prime. . . .

Also that the recourse of scholars of Oxford to the monastery be altogether checked and restrained.

Also that (neither) the gatekeeper of the monastery nor any other secular person convey any gifts, rewards, letters or tokens from the nuns to any scholar of Oxford . . . and if any nun shall do the contrary, she shall undergo imprisonment for a year.

[(*d*) The election of an abbot might be conducted according to one of three methods. (1) By unanimous acclamation, as in the case given below. (2) By the unanimous decision of a committee of arbitrators appointed for the purpose. (3) By the appointment of three scrutators to receive the votes of every member of the convent and examine them. *Ibid.*, 124. (Lat.).]

Election of the abbot of Wellow.

The prior and convent, of the same monastery, after licence had been first asked and obtained by them from our lord the King, the patron of the said monastery, to elect another person to be their prelate and pastor, proceeded by way of the Holy Spirit to the election of the future abbot of the said place; and after brother Henry Suttone, prior of the priory of Fineshade,[1] of the order and diocese aforesaid, had been elected, and the decree of such election had been shown and presented reverently to the lord bishop within his manor of Buckden, on the part of the prior and convent of the said monastery, on the eighth day of the month of August, in the year of our Lord, 1421, the same reverend father, at the petition of the said part, decreed that public proclamations and summons should be made, as is customary in the said monastery, that all who allege that they are concerned therein should appear before him or his commissaries in the prebendal church of Buckden, on Thursday next before the feast of the assumption of blessed Mary then next following, to set forth in form of law whatever might be within their competence in this behalf, and to do and receive what further should be just. On and in which day and place, the reverend father aforesaid sitting as a tribunal in such cause or business, after the certificate of such proclamations and summons, made at the command of the said reverend father by the dean of Grimsby and sealed with the seal of the same dean, had been presented to him, and the several persons summoned had been publicly called and did not appear, and (the power) of making any further opposition had, at the petition of the said part of the same prior and convent, been withheld from them by decree by the same reverend father; after the decree of such election and also the royal assent had likewise been presented by the same part to the same reverend father, and the articles drawn from the same decree had been provided, and certain witnesses brought forward, and these had been received and sworn in the form of witnesses to be put on oath and had been diligently examined, and their depositions published, and nothing had been said or alleged against them or their words (the process) of such election having been sifted and investigated and found lawful, and the person of the elect diligently examined and found sufficient, since by the canonical institutes there was nothing to hinder, the same reverend father proceeded to the confirmation of such election. . . .

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[1] In Northamptonshire.

And then, after the hymn Te Deum had been chanted, canonical obedience having been sworn in the accustomed form by the same elect now confirmed, charge was made in writing to the archdeacon of Lincoln or his official that the same should perform what belongs to his office with regard to the installation of the said elect, now confirmed; and charge was made in writing to the prior and convent of the said monastery that they should humbly obey and hearken to the aforesaid elect, now confirmed, as their abbot and prelate; and touching all these things he had letters, testimonials, etc.

13.

[Statutes against heretics. (*a*) St. 2 Hen. IV, c. 15. S.R., ii. 125-8.]

That none within the said realm . . . presume to preach openly or privily, without the licence of the diocesan of the same place first required and obtained . . . nor . . . preach, hold, teach or instruct openly or privily, or make or write any book contrary to the catholic faith or determination of the Holy Church . . . or in any wise hold or exercise schools; . . . and if any person or persons . . . from henceforth do or attempt against the royal ordinance and statute aforesaid in the premises or in any of them . . . then the Diocesan of the same place in his Diocese, such person or persons . . . may . . . cause to be arrested . . . till he or they of the articles laid to him or them in this behalf, do canonically purge himself or themselves. . . . And if any person in any case above expressed, be before the diocesan of the place or his Commissaries canonically convict, then the said diocesan may do to be kept in his prison the said person. . . . And if any person . . . do refuse duly to abjure . . . so that according to the holy canons he ought to be left to the secular court, whereupon credence shall be given to the diocesan of the same place . . . in this behalf, then the sheriff of the county of the same place . . . shall be personally present in preferring of such sentences. . . . and they the same persons and every one of them, after such sentence promulgate, shall receive, and them before the people in an high place do to be burnt; that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of other, whereby no such wicked doctrine and heretical and erroneous opinions . . . be sustained or in any wise suffered.

[(*b*) St. 2 Hen. V, 2, c. 7. *Ibid.*, 182.]

That the Justices of the King's Bench, and Justices of the Peace, and Justices of Assise, have full power to enquire of all them which hold any errors or heresies, as lollards, . . . and if any person be indicted of any points aforesaid, the said Justices shall have power to award against them a Capias, and the sheriff shall be bound to arrest the person or persons so indited as soon as he may find them by him or by his officers. And . . . such persons indited shall be delivered to the ordinaries of the places, . . . within x days after their arrest, or sooner if it may be, thereof to be acquit or convict by the laws of Holy Church.

14.

[Cases of heresy. (*a*) John Badby, 1410. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 105.]

And that yere ther was an heretyke, that was callyd John of Badby, that be-levyd nought in the Sacrament of the Auter, and he was brought unt(o) Smethe fylde for to be brent, and bounde unto a stake; and Syr Harry Percy[1] of Walys conselyd hym to holde the very ryght beleve of Hooly Chyrche, and he shulde faylle nothyr lacke noo goode. Al so the Chaunceler of Oxynford, on Mayster Corteney, informyd hym in the faythe of Holy Chyrche, and the Pryour of Syn Batholomewys brought the hooly Sacrament with xii torches and brought hyt before hym. And hyt was askyd howe that he be-levyde. Ande he answeryd and sayde that he wyste welle that hit was hooly brede, and nought Goodys oune blessyde body. And thenne was the tonne putt ovyr hym and fyre put unto hym; and whenne he felde fyre he cryde marcy. And a-non the prynce commaundyd to take a wey the fyre, and hit was don soo anon. And then the prince askyd hym yf that he wolde forsake hys heresy and be-leve on the faythe of alle Hooly Chyrche and he wolde gyffe hym hys lyffe and goode i-nowe whyle he levyd; but he wolde nought, but contynuyde forthe in hys heresye. And thenne the prynce commaundyd hym up to be brende at onys, and soo he was. And John Gylott, vynter he made ii wevers to be take, the whiche folowyd the same waye of heresye.

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[1] Prince.

[(*b*) John Cleydon. Letter from the Mayor and Aldermen to the King, 6 August, 1415. Riley, "Memorials," 617, from "Letter Book I," fo. clv.]

Forasmuch as the King of all might and the Lord of Heaven . . . has now, during your absence, placed in our hands certain persons . . . commonly known as Lollards . . . the same persons, in accordance with the requirements of law, we have unto the Reverend Commissaries of the Reverend Father in Christ, and Lord, Richard, by Divine permission, the Lord Bishop of London, by indenture caused to be delivered. Whereupon, one John Cleydone by name, the arch-parent of this heretical depravity was . . . in accordance with the canonical sanctions, by sentence in this behalf lawfully pronounced, as being a person relapsed into heresy, which before had by him been abjured, left in the hands of the secular Court; for the execution of whose body . . . to the utmost of our power we shall be assisting.

[(*c*) Lollardy in Somerset. On 18 June, 1417, a writ was received inquiring as to certain persons accused of lollardy. The return states that Edmund Broun, James Mostardemaker, Robert Wykham, Robert Harryes, John Ruell, John Jordan, cobbler, and John Colchestre, barber, of Bristol, had been reported on as lollards, and four had been imprisoned for lollardy in 1414, and had remained in prison until a royal letter to the Mayor and Sheriff of Bristol on 29 June, 1414, directed their release. On 5 July, 1419, the same four, E. Broun, J. Mostardemaker, R. Wykham, R. Harryes, appeared before the Bishop and six Canons in Barwell Church. Somerset Record Society, "Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1407-24," i. 283-90. (Lat.).]

The reverend father first questioned the aforesaid Edmund Broun in the vulgar tongue concerning the xiv articles of the Creed, the x Commandments, the vii Sacraments of the Church, the vii Acts of Mercy, the vii Cardinal Virtues, as to what he thought concerning each and all of them: then the aforesaid Edmund answered and said that he thought rightly and as a catholic concerning all of them and that he had never thought otherwise nor held any other opinions concerning them, nor would he at any time do so. And the same Edmund was questioned and examined concerning the vii deadly sins and answered concerning them. Then were the aforesaid Jacob Mostardemaker, Robert Wykham, and Robert Harryes subjected to a similar examination concerning all and each of the above-mentioned articles by the same reverend father.

[All denied the charge of heresy. The Bishop commanded them to appear in S. Thomas' Church on 23 July next, with 14 honest men to support their case on oath, and ordered a notice to be read in three churches of the town, calling upon any who wished to bring charges against the four to do so.]

On the 23rd day of July the aforesaid Edmund, Robert, James, and Robert appeared in person before Master John Welles, the commissary aforesaid in the aforesaid parish Church of S. Thomas, and the letters of proclamation and denunciation having been read and notice having been given in the accustomed manner, and no witness or opponent or reclamator having appeared, Master John, the commissary aforesaid, announced that no further accusation could be received. Then Edmund Brown aforesaid, declared and recited publicly in the vulgar tongue what he had formerly said concerning all and each of the matters in question, and with 14 compurgators, proved and honest men, canonically purged himself there.

[The other three did likewise.]

Then the aforesaid Edmund, Robert Wykham, James, and Robert Harryes, placing their hands upon the Bible, abjured in the form of an oath all and every heresy and error and all lollardy . . . and in case they should in the future know of any lollard or anyone suspected of lollardy they promised immediately to inform the ordinary of the place.

[(*d*) Opinions of William Emayn, a lollard, who abjured, 24 May, 1430. Somerset Record Society, "Register of John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1423-43," i. 78.]

In primis, every praier should be maad immediatly to God and not to Seintes.

Item, hit is not lawful to a man spirituel to charge or to compelle ony man to swere on a book.

Item, confession is but a counsail; . . .

Item, the Pope in dedly sinne is Antecrist and not the viker of Crist; . . .

Item, every prest is bounde under payne of dedly synne to prech Word of God openly.

Item, it is ayenst Goddes lawe to ony man or woman that is foole to enter into ony hous of religion: for thos places be the dennes of foxes and of briddes nestes.

Item, freres shuld not begge but wercke as Poule dede with there handes for thair liflode for they be the childre of Sathan.

Item, hit is not lawful to ony prest which ministreth the Sacrament or singeth for a soule in church collage or other place to take ony salary for his labour.

Item, the hed of the Church is Crist, and thos that be most vertuous in lyvyng be most highest in the Church. . . .

Item, to images shulde no maner worship be do neither genufleccions ner insensingne non othre thing of worship.

Item, hit is dampnable to goo on pilgrimage to ony sepulture reliquys of Seintes: for a pilgrimage shulde be doo to pouer men.

Item, hit is dampnable to offre to ony image.

Item, hit is not lawful to the king, lordes spirituel and temporel be callyng to hem the comones to kepe and execute such ordinances and statutes but they be founded and grounded in Cristes Gospel: and the writers of such statutes be like to scribes and pharisees to whom Crist saide Ve vobis scribis et phariseis, Woo to you scibis and pharisues.

Item, hit is not lawful neither to spirituel lordes as the pope, archbushops, busshops, abbotes and al other of the prelacie, ne to lordes temporal as the king, princes or ony other of the temporalte to occupie temporal goodes if they be in dedly synne: for than they be not lordes ne owners of the same goodes.

Item, the opinions that Sir John Oldecastel called the lord Cobham, Maister John Wyclif, Maister William Taillour, Sir William Sawtry, Sir John Beverley, and Sir James —— which persones for their errours and heresies that they pertinatlich defended were convicted and demed for heretikes, and so take to seculer pouer and punisshed to the deth, were holy men and thair doctrine and opinions were trewe and Catholik, and therfor thay be worshipped in heven as holy martirs.

Item, Maister John Wyclif was holier and now is more in blisse and hier in heven glorified than Seint Thomas of Canterbury the glorious Martir.

[(*e*) Articles abjured by John Woodhulle clerk of Almeley, 1433 Cant. and York Soc., vol. xxiii., "Reg. of Th. Spofford, Bishop. of Hereford, 1422-8," 153.]

That in the sacrament of the awter efter the consecracion es abydyng materiall brede.

. . . A man shold not gef his almes to prestes, freres, ne pardoneres, for thei ben fals enemyes of God. . . .

Ther schold no man pleet another. . . .

Parychones schulde wyth drawe fro prestes and prelates ther offrynges and dymes when they fall to synne openly and fayles in their offis.

[(*f*) Case of Richard Wyche, 1440. Bodl. MS., Digby Roll 2. *Cf.* Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 125.]

Also this yere uppon a ffryday that ys for to say the second day of August was on mayst. Richard Wyche sumtyme vyker of Depford Strond in the Schire of Kent brent for lowlary at the Tower hyll, and ther many of his secte of his lord went and offered at the same place wher he was brent tyll many of them wer aspyed and putt into pryson and for dought that ther shuld a ben a maner of arysyng of souche mysbelevers the mayer the schryves w all the aldremen be comen counsell and comen asent dyd ordayne many wacches of dyverse wardes of the cite that a certayn shuld wache a day and as many a nyght at the same place unto the tyme that the mayer w^{t} his councell wold send hem discharge.

["Eng. Chron.," C.S., 56.]

And among othir was take the vicary of Berkyng-chirche beside the tour of London, in whos parishe alle this was done, that receyued the offeryng of the symple peple. And for to excite and stire thaym to offre the more feruently, and to fulfille and satisfie his fals couetise, he took asshis and medlid thaym with powder of spices and strowed thaym in the place where the said heretic was brend; and so the symple peple were deceyued, wenyng that the swete flauour hadde comme of the asshis of the ded heretic: for this the said vicari of Berkyng chirche confessid aftirward in prisoun. And the said heretic cesid nevir vnto the laste breth for to blaspheme and desclaundre the iiij ordris of freris, the whiche was no token of perfeccion ne of charite.

[(*g*) From proceedings taken in 1457, against the brothers William and Richard Sparke, of Somersham, Huntingdonshire, lollards, at the instance of John Chedworth, Bishop of Lincoln. "Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544," E.E.T.S., 90 *et seq.* From Bp. Chedworth's register. (Lat.).]

A child whose parents have been baptized has no need of baptism, and ought not to be baptized, since its parents' baptism is sufficient for it.

. . . .

A priest has no more power to make the body of Christ than the wheat stalk has. After the words of consecration the bread remains only bread as before; and, in fact, is debased by having had such spell-words pronounced over it.

. . . .

The sole requisite for a valid marriage is mutual consent between the man and woman. . . . The marriage service was brought in solely to provide fees for priests.

[After abjuration, the following penance was imposed by the bishop.]

That each of them, clad only in his breeches and his shirt, with a faggot on his neck and shoulders and carrying a lighted wax candle in his hand, shall walk meekly and humbly as a penitent on market day, in full market-time, once round the market-place of Huntingdon, and once round the market-place of St. Ives, and shall walk once in the same manner as a penitent, on a Sunday or holy day (when a procession takes place and there is consequently a great number of people present); round the parish of Somersham and once round the parish of Ramsey, and when this penance has been fully carried out, shall, on bended knee, humbly offer his wax candle at the altar of the church where he shall have completed his penance.

15.

[Case of Reginald Pecock, Bishop of S. Asaph, 1444-50, Bishop of Chichester, 1450-57. (*a*) The following was among the charges brought against him in 1457. "Bale's Chron." ap. Flenley, 121, 1447.]

Item, the Sonday the xv day of may Sir Reignold Pecok Bisshop of seint Asse preched at Powles crosse and declared that Bisshops wer not bound to preach.

[(*b*) Trial of Pecock, 1457. "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 75.]

This same yere, and the yere of oure Lorde M iiijc. lvij. master Reynold Pocock bysshop of Chichestre a seculer doctour of dyuynyte, that had labored many yeres for to translate Holy Scripture into Englysshe; passing the bondes of diuinite and of Crysten beleue, was accused of certayne articles of heresy of the whyche he was conuyct before the archebysshoppe of Caunterbury and other bysshopys and clerkys; and vtterly abiured, reuoked, and renounced the sayde articles opynly at Powles Crosse in his moder tunge as folowethe hereafter. "In the name of the Holy Trynyte, Fader, Sone, and Holy Gost, I Reynold Pocock bysshop of Chichestre vnworthy, of myne owne power and wylle withoute eny maner cohercioun or drede, confesse and knowlege that I herebefore this tyme presumyng of myne natural wytte, and preferryng my iugement and naturalle resoun before the Newe and Olde Testament, and the auctoryte and determinacoun of oure moder hooly churche, haue holde, wrytenne and taughte otherwys thanne the hooly Romane and uniuersalle churche techythe, prechythe, or obseruethe; and ouer thys, ayenst the trew catholyc and aposteles feythe, I haue made, wryten, taughte and publysshed meny and diuerse perylous doctrynes, bookes, werkes and wrytyng conteynyng heresyes and errours contrary to the feythe catholyk and determinacoun of holy churche; and specially these heresyes and errours folowyng, that ys to say. (Lat.).

"Firstly, that it is not a necessity of faith to believe our Lord Jesus Christ descended into hell after His Death.

"Item, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the communion of Saints.

"Item, that the universal church may err in matters of faith.

"Item, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe and to hold that that which is decreed, approved, or determined by a general council and the universal church, as a matter of faith and for the salvation of souls, is to be approved, believed, and held by all the faithful people of Christ.

"Wherefore I, myserable synner, . . . retorne and come ayene to the vynte of our moder holy churche; and alle heresyes and errours wryten and conteyned in my seyde bookes, workes and wrytyng, here solemply and openly reuoke and renounce. . . ."

. . . And aftyr thys he was pryued of his bysshopryche, hauyng a certeyne pensione assigned vn to hym for to lyue on in an abbey, and sone after he dyed.

[(*c*) Extracts from Pecock's works. (*a*) "Repressor of over-much blaming of the Clergy." R.S., i. 10.]

It longeth not to holi Holi Scripture, neither it is his office into which God hath him ordeyned, neither it is his part forto grounde eny gouernaunce or deede or seruice of God, or eny awe of God, or eny trouthe which mannis resoun bi naturel may fynde, leerne, and knowe.

[*Ibid.*, 25.]

If eny semyng discorde be betwixe the wordis writen in the outword book of Holi Scripture and the doom of resoun, write in mannis soule and herte, the wordis so writen without forth oughten be expowned and be interpretid and brought forto accorde with the doom of resoun in thilk mater.

[*Ibid.*, 83.]

The positijf lawe of feith which Scripture groundeth or techith, that is to seie, al the feith being positijf lawe to man, which Scripture groundith or techith, is not so worthi in it self, neither so necessarie and profitable to man, for to serue God and deserue meede in heuen, as is the seid doom of resoun.

[The study of the faith is not therefore unnecessary. "Book of Faith," 138.]

For whi, if clerkis take not hede, how and wherbi the articlis of oure Cristen feith owen to be groundid and proved and defendid, such tyme may come, in which adversaries schulen fynde the postis and the pilers of oure feith so unleeryned and nakid, forto meyntene oure feith, that tho adversaries . . . schulen perverte myche multitude from feith.

[*Ibid.*, 264.]

We owen forto not feyne, forge, allege, putte, trowe, or holde eny myracle to be doon, save wharre nede compellith us therto, that is to seie, that we mowe not saue the caase otherwise bi liklihood of resoun.

["Repressor," i. 107.]

The godenes of a gouernaunce hangith upon hise circumstauncis. . . . if transmutacioun and chaunge be of the circumstauncis, so that thei not abiden vndir oon and the same reule, the gouernaunce oughte not abide and be contynued vnder oon and the same seule forto be good.

[A defence of the use of images and pictures. *Ibid.*, 203.]

Whanne a man cometh to churche and wole be remembrid vpon such now seid thingis, his heed is feeble for labour or studie bifore had or for sikenes or for age; and certis if he schulde be aboute for to remembre him vpon suche seid thingis, and that bi calling in to mynde what he hath bifore thilk day red or herd red in book, or herd prechid, or seen peinted, it schal be to him miche gretter labour for to laboure so in his brayn bi taking mynde and for to withinne forth calle into mynde without sight of the ighe withouteforth vpon ymagis what he bifore knewe and thoughte vpon, than it schulde be to him if he biholde bi ighe sight vpon ymagis or other peinting according to his labour.

16.

[From a letter sent to the dean of Wells and archdeacons of the diocese by the bishop, 20 March, 1435. Somerset Record Society, "Register of John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1425-1443," ii. 174-80.]

We ordeyne and commaunde that every curat and preest having cure of soule of the people iiij times in the year, that is to say ones in every quarter of the yeer, the Sonday or the Holy Day, declare openly in Englissh to the peeple withoute curious sotiltee, Furst the particules of the bileve . . . (Lat.) Item, of the ten commandments of the Old Testament three are directed towards God . . . and seven towards Christ . . . (Eng.) There be vii werkes of mercy. . . . The vij deedly synes be these . . . There be vij vertues principalles. . . . There be vij sacramentes . . . of which vij sacramentes v ought to be take of every Cristien creature. . . .

(Lat.) Moreover we exhort you, and by the tenour of these presents, firmly command you, that every curate and archdeacon . . . after you shall have delivered it to him, shall cause the copy to remain and be safely kept as a reminder in the future, in the church of which he has charge, and that he shall publicly read and expound four times a year at least that part of the letter which is written in the vulgar tongue.

17.

[Censoring of sermons, 1458. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 203.]

And alle that holy tyme of Lentyn there myght noo mane man that schulde preche byfore the kynge, but that he shulde shewe hys sarmon in wrytyng, were he doctor or other, in so moche the lordys woldys ABC wolde assygne what he schulde say, as for any thynge that longyd unto the comyn wele, and yf he passyd hys commaundement he schulde lese hys costys, and goo as he come, withowte mete and drynge.

18.

[Sorcery and witchcraft (see above, p. 99) (*a*) "Calendar of the Proceedings in Chancery in the reign of Queen Elizabeth," I, xxiv., 11-22, Hen. VI.]

To the right worthy and reverent Holy fader and his gracyous lord My lord of Bathe and Chauncellor of Engelond.

Most mekely bysechit and full pytuously compleynyt yor pore and contynuall bedeman Henry Hoigges of Bodmyn of the counte of Cornewayll, Gentilman, certefyyng you gracious lord hov that late on . . . Sir John Harvy of the said toun of Bodmyn prest and servaunt of the said Priour, of hys malys & evele wille, ymagenyng by sotill craftys of enchauntement wycchecraft and socerye, malygnyd yor said suppliant endeles[1] to destroye thurgh wechecraft aboweseid, he brake his legge and foul was hert; thurgh the weche he was in despayr of his lyff: and more over contynualy fro day to day the said sotile craft of enchauntement wycchecraft and socerye usyth & ocupyeth & in opyn places pronuncit, & to fore many other dyverses persones boldely avowith & wol stande therby; the weche that ys well knowen to many folkys of the said counte. And more over in opyn place saide that he wolde by ye said craft of enchauntement wycchecraft and socerye, wyrke yor said suppliant his nekke to breke, and hym endeles to destroye, with oute yor gracyous lordship eide and support.

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[1] for ever.

[(*b*) Cant. and York Soc., vol. xxi., "Reg. of Robert Mascall, Bishop of Hereford, 1404-16," 74. 22 September, 1416. (Lat.).]

Robert, etc., to the dean of our cathedral church of Hereford, and to our official and to all and every curate in our city and diocese wherever he be, greeting, etc. Although it appears in Holy Scripture and in the sacred canons that all those who worship any stone, well, or any other creature as God, fall into the sin of idolatry, we have both trustworthy reports and also hear it talked of amongst the people, that many of our subjects, which grieves us much, foolishly go in great numbers to a certain well and stone in the parish of Turnastone, situated in our diocese, and there by genuflexions and offerings of all sorts, worship this same well and stone, and the place where they are, unlawfully and without the authority of the church, and since there is lack of water, they carry pieces of its earth with them and guard and watch over them as relics, to the grave peril of their souls, and an evil example to many others. Wherefore we interdict the said well and stone, and forbid all our subjects, under pain of the greater excommunication, to go to this place to worship the well and stone in this way.

19.

[Attacks on Church property (see above, p. 15). (*a*) Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 65, 1410 (erroneously placed under the year 1407 in the "Chronicle"; see *ibid.*, 295.)]

To the most excellent Redoubte Lorde the Kyng and to alle the noble lordes off this present parlement, Shewen mekely alle the trewe comvnes seyyng this sotheley oure liege lorde the kyng may haue off the Temporaltes by Bisshopes, Abbotes and Priours, y-occupyed and wasted provdly, with Inne the Rewme xv Erles and $m^{l}v^{c}$ knyhtes, $vi^{m}cc$ Squyers, and c houses off Almesse mo thanne he hath now at this tyme, woll maynteyned and trevly by londes and tenementes susteyned.

And euermore whanne alle this is perfourmed, oure lorde the kyng may have euery yeer in clere to his Tresour ffor defense off his Rewme xxm^{l} li more, as hit may be trevly prevyd.

And caste that euery Erle may spend by yere iijm^{l} markes off londes and Rentes. And euery knyht c marces off Rent, and iiij plow londe in his owne domenys. And euery squyer xl marces with ij plow londe in his domeyns. And euery house off Almesse c marces by ouer sight off goode and trew sekulers, be cause off preestes and clerkes that now haue ffull nyh distroyed the houses off Almesse with Inne the Rewmes.

And also ffor to ordeyne that euery tovne thurh oute the Rewme shulde kepe alle pore meyne and beggers, which mowe nat travaylle ffor her sustenance, affter the Statut made at Cambrigge. And in caas at the fforseyde comones myht nat extende fforto susteyne hem, than the fforseyd houses of Almesse myht helpe hem.

And how all this myht be done, wille ye witte that the Temporaltes off Bisshopes, Abbotes and Priours extende to the somme off ccc m^{l} markes and xxijm^{l} markes by yeer.

[Here follow the particulars of this sum.]

And yitt fferthermore may be getyn cm. ti. off moo Temporaltes wasted and occupyed amonge worldly clerkes and ffynde herwith xm^{l}v^{c} preestes and clerkes. And euery clerke by yeer xls. and vjm^{l}cc squyers in the manere byfore seyde.

And thus in alle the Rewme may men have xv Erles, xv m^{l} knyhtes and squyers moo thanne be now suffisauntly Rentyd. And yitt therto xv Vnyuersitees and xv m^{l} preestes and clerkes sufficiantly fondon be temporell almesse, yff yt lyke the kyng and lordes to spenden hem in that vse; And the kyng to his Tresour xx m^{l} li. by yeer. And yitt c houses off Almesse; And euery hovs c marces with londes to ffeden with alle the nedefull pore men, and no coste to the tovne. . . .

And therfore alle the trewe comoners desireth . . . that these worldely clerkes, Bisshopes, Abbotes and Priors, that aren so worldly lordes, that they be putte to leven by her Spiritualtes; ffor they lyven nat now, ne done the office off trewe curates other prelates shulden, ne they helpe nat the pore comones with her lordeshippes as that trewe sekulers lordes shulden, ne they lyve nat in penaunce ne in bodely travaylle as trewe Religious shulden by her possession.

But off euery estate they take luste and ese, and putte ffro hem the travaylle, and takyth profytes that shulden kome to trewe men, the which lyff and evyll ensample off hem hath be so longe vicious that alle the comone peple, both lordes and symple comvnes, beth now so vicious and enfecte thurh boldeship off her synne, that vneth eny man dredith god ne the devyll.

To the which Bille as that tyme was noon answere yoven.

[(*b*) Conclusion of the articles put forth by Jack Sharpe in 1430. Joh. Amundesham, "Annales," R.S., i. 456.]

Therfore alle comyns of the reme, desyryng to wurschype Godde, preyon that alle the temporaltes of chyrches thus apropred ayens Crystes lore be turned to Godde, and to the prosperyte of the reme. . . .

And thus we lyges of the Kynge seyen that . . . yf this were y perfourmed after the entente that ys above said . . . that seche another reme of chevalrye were nat in Crystendom.

20.

[Opinions of Thomas Gascoigne. (*a*) "Loci e libro veritatum," 3. (Lat.).]

For now in England the care of souls is disappearing through churches being appropriated and through the non-residence of curates and prelates, and the promotion of men unworthy and the holding of pluralities, and crimes committed by the unworthy, evil-living, and ignorant persons at Oxford, and in other places of study, and this evil appointing of people to the scholastic life will not cease until the power of dispensation is taken by statute from the regents and proctors of the University, who allow the worst things on account of the gain that accrues to them from graduates or those to be graduated by them.

[*Ibid.*, 20.]

In the University, those are admitted to degrees who can pay a sum of money, and not those who qualify by a good living and knowledge, and thus perishes learning.

[(*b*) Reasons given by Gascoigne for the rising of Jack Cade.
Ibid., 43. (Lat.).]

The Commons of England rose against the ecclesiastics in the year 1450, because the bishops and rectors did not live in their courts but at the court of the King and of the lords . . . because justice was lacking, and the punishment of evil-doing, which should be the business of curates and bishops, were they not kept from it by negligence and gifts (bribes) and the fear of incurring displeasure, because justice was lacking amongst the lords and judges, and although injuries were inflicted by the many quarrels that occurred yet they had no remedy, nor was there reform of the evil: the holding of pluralities, the appropriation of parish churches, and the sale of livings, were the principal causes, it was said, of the rising in England; also it was on account of the great poverty, which was general in England at the time, the result of the greed of those about the King and of the lack of justice and the causes abovesaid.

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BOOK IV. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL.

A. FOREIGN TRADE AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

1.

[Commercial Treaty with Genoa, 21 October, 1421. Cal. State Papers, Milan, i. 3.]

Alliance between Henry V, King of England, and Thomas di Campo Fregoso, Doge of Genoa.

Be it known that Philip, Bishop of Worcester, John Stafford, keeper of the privy seal, and William Alnevil, the King's secretary, on behalf of King Henry and Rafaelo Spinula and Stefano Lomelino, ambassadors of Genoa, on behalf of that city, have made the following treaty:—

Firstly, there shall be friendship, unity, alliance and a firm league between the said King and his subjects and all the said community.

That all injuries inflicted hitherto shall be considered as quit, and no action shall be taken on their account.

That each party will maintain peace and goodwill with the other for all time, though they shall not be bound to enter any war in which the other party may be engaged, but may even continue to trade with the other party's enemies.

The King will not give any help to the Aragonese, Catalans, or any exiles of Genoa, provided his allies and confederates are not at enmity with that city.

His allies are: the pope, the King of the Romans, Charles, King of the French, the Kings of Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, the Dukes of Savoy and Bavaria, and Jacoba, Duchess of Holland.

Genoa will give no help to the Dauphin Charles, or to any other disobedient subject of the King's realm of France, to the Castilians, Scots or any other notorious enemies, provided the allies of Genoa are not at enmity with the King. The allies are the pope, the King of the Romans, and King Louis, if he makes war for Apulia and Sicily and any others who shall be notified before All Saints' next, but not including the Dauphin or others named above.

If the King, by virtue of some previous league, gives help to any making war on Genoa, he shall give Genoese merchants and their agents eight months notice to withdraw freely from his territories with all their ships and goods; and Genoa shall do the same for his merchants in like case.

All subjects of the King may trade freely at Genoa and go and come as they please with their goods, except such as cannot be taken away, owing to special prohibition, after paying the customary duties; and all Genoese merchants shall have the like privileges in England upon the like conditions.

. . . .

The above was agreed on the 29th May, 1421. Ratified by the King and the said ambassadors. Dated at Westminster, the 26th October, 1421. Examined and authenticated by Antonius de Credentia, public notary and chancellor of Genoa.

2.

[Trade with Venice. (*a*) The Venetians and English cloth. A decree of the Senate, 17 December, 1444. Cal. State Papers, Venice, i. 67.]

Cloths of Flanders and England brought by Venetian galleys to Venice are exempted from an export duty of one per cent., levied on other foreign cloths.

And as it has become the fashion to bring from the parts of Flanders and London to Venice incomplete cloths, which are subsequently completed here in the Venetian manner, and as thereby Venetian cloths are defrauded of their fame—be it decreed, that under penalty of confiscation, no incomplete cloths may be brought to Venice.

Moreover, as of late there have been brought from the parts of Flanders and England unshorn cloths—resembling Venetian cloths — be it carried that from henceforth no unshorn cloths may be brought to Venice from any place, under penalty of confiscation, and of a fine of 500 livres for each piece of cloth thus brought.

[(*b*) Venetian traders in London. A bill of exchange, 2 January, 1455. *Ibid.*, i. 79.]

Drawn at Venice on 2 October, 1454, by Ziliano de' Stagani, of Lonado, at usance, in favour of Lodovico de li Strozi, on Marco Justiniano, son of the late Missier Marino, at the exchange of 45d. per ducat.

On 2 January, 1455, accompanied by William Styfford, notary, Giovanni de Bardi and Allessandro Rinuccini, Florentines, Antonio de Lutiano, factor of Lodovico dei Strozi & Co., went to Dardo Justinian, factor of Marco Justinian, Dardo being then in front of Styfford's dwelling in Lombard Street, in the parish of St. Nicholas Acon, in London. Lutiano having presented the bill on behalf of Strozi to Dardo, he refused payment on behalf of Marco. Thereupon, Lutiano inquired if Dardo himself or anyone else then in front of Styfford's dwelling, would honour the bill, and nobody answering, the bill was protested; the bill broker Beligardo de Bardi certifying that the ducat was worth 40¾d. in London.

[(*c*) In 1457 a riot occurred in London owing to the hostility to the alien merchants. The Venetians and others retaliated by ordering their merchants to leave London, 23 August, 1457. *Ibid.*, i. 84.]

By reason of the insult perpetrated by certain artificers and shopkeepers of London against the Italian nation, to the risk of their lives and property, the merchants of the Italian nation, namely, the Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, and Lucchese, met together, and after consultation, determined it was necessary to quit London, for personal safety and security of their property; and for their asylum they selected Winchester, stipulating amongst themselves that no individual of the nations aforesaid might go to London or trade there; . . .

Moreover, it is ordained that, if any man of the Venetian ships bound to England go to London as long as the merchants remain absent, the consul shall levy a fine from him of 500 light livres, the state attorneys having their share . . . the merchants must insist on having in Winchester a judge appointed by the King for all lawsuits and cases arising between Englishmen and Italians, and amongst Italians, that they may not have to go to the law courts of London.

3.

[The Hanseatic merchants enjoyed exceptional privileges in England, and English merchants enjoyed protection in the Hanseatic Towns. Protests at the treatment they received, however, were sometimes called for on both sides. Letter from Henry VI to the Hanse, 1440. Rymer, x. 755. (Lat.).]

We marvel at the complaints of the merchants of our Realm of England of which we have heard, how that they have suffered oppressions, injuries, and hurts inflicted by you, as to our dismay has been proved to us, contrary to the terms of the agreement, and after you had consented to be bound by it. For Thomas Griffin of Lynn, and Perin Gascoyne of Sandwich, and Thomas Cadon of Ipswich, and several more of our subjects of England were in the town of Stettin, and John Newenton of Hull in the town of Köslin, and were illegally captured by the inhabitants of the said towns and imprisoned, and heavy ransoms and fines extorted from them, and the money which they had on them taken away.

4.

[Agreement with the King of Denmark. St. 8 Hen. VI, c. 2. S.R., ii. 239.]

The King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweveland . . . hath ordained and statuted, that all and singular strangers, as well Englishmen and others, willing to apply by ship and come into his realm of Norway and other dominions, streights, territories, jurisdictions, isles, and places aforesaid, to the intent to get or have fish, or any other merchandises or goods, shall apply or come to his town of Northbarum,[1] where the said King of Denmark hath specially ordained and established his Staple for the concourse of strangers.

5.

[A trader in Turkey. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, iv. 166, dated 15 March, 1443.]

Grant, during good behaviour, to Nicholas Jone of Boloyne Grasse, merchant, married to a liege of the King in England, who brought to the King of late three camels and an ostrich from Turkey, of the office of the brokerage, of the exchanges, securities of carracks, etc.

6.

[Papal censure of trade with Mohammedans. Cal. of Papal Letters, vi. 170, dated 21 Oct., 1411.]

To Anthony de Pireto, S.T.M., minister general of the Friars Minors, nuncio in England. Faculty to absolve fifty persons of the realm who, contrary to the prohibitions of the apostolic see, have trafficked in person or by agents to Alexandria and other parts subject to the Soldan of Babylon. Their unlawful gains are, as far as possible, to be given to the papal camera in aid of the Roman Church.

7.

[Provision for the spiritual welfare of English merchants abroad. Cal. of Papal Letters, v. 572, dated 15 August, 1402.]

To Richard Clay, an Augustinian friar. Indult for three years—seeing that to the parts of Prussia and Livonia, whose inhabitants speak the Teutonic tongue, a number of merchants and persons of both sexes often repair on business and dwell there, specially from the realm of England, neither understanding nor speaking the said tongue—to him, who is a priest, is a native of the said realm, and has lived for some time in the said parts, to read mass in the presence of such merchants or persons in the said parts.

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[1] North Bergen.

8.

[Hostility to aliens (see above p. 243). (*a*) All aliens to go to host and to sell their goods within eight months. St. 18 Hen. VI, c. 4. S.R., ii. 303. For earlier petitions on this subject see Rot. Parl., iii. 661; iv. 13, 126, 276.]

All merchants, aliens and strangers from henceforth coming or abiding to merchandise within any city, town, borough, or port in England, shall be under the surveying of certain people, called hosts or surveyors, to them assigned by the mayors, sheriffs, or bailiffs, of the same cities, towns, boroughs, or ports. . . . And that every such merchant, which bringeth or doth to be brought from henceforth any merchandises . . . shall put them to sale by the surveying of the said hosts; and make full employment of all the same merchandises, except all manner of cloths of gold, of silver, and of silk, within eight months next after the coming of the same merchandises . . . that is to say, they shall sell the same merchandises for other merchandises of the said realm, or shall sell them for money, and with the same money they shall buy within the time aforesaid other merchandises growing and made within the same realm.

[Kingsford "Chron. of London," 153, 18 Hen. VI.]

And in this parlement the comones desired al lombardes and aliens shuld be put vnto hoste; but it was long afore it myght be graunted; and so it was graunted and not performed, to grete hyndryng and [1] the merchauntes of Englond.

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[1] *Sic;* read "of," *ibid.*, 153, n. 1.

[(*b*) Fear of competition of alien goods. St. 33 Hen. VI, c. 5. S.R., ii. 375. *Cf.* Rot. Parl., v. 325.]

That if any Lombard, or any other person, stranger, or denizen bring or cause to be brought by way of merchandise any wrought silk twined, ribbands, chains, girdles of silk, or any other thing touching or concerning the mystery of silk women, girdles which come from Genoa only except, into any port or place of the said realm from beyond the sea, that the same wrought silk twined, ribbands, chains and girdles and other things so brought and wrought concerning the same mysteries, shall be forfeit.

9.

[An interpreter in Court. Year Books, ed. R. Tottell. 21 Hen. VI, fo. xlii. (Fr.).]

To be noted that a plea of debt was brought against a Lombard who waged his law,[1] and when he came to the court to wage his law, Browne asked him if he could speak English, and he said no; then he was asked if he could speak Latin, and he said no. Therefore Browne said the record must be read to one who could understand it and could speak Lombard, and that he must recite it to the Lombard in his own language and the Lombard must wage his law in his own language, and thus it was done.

B. INTERNAL INDUSTRY AND ECONOMIC POLICY.

1.

[The wool trade. (*a*) Export of wool except to the Staple at Calais forbidden. St. 18 Hen. VI, c. 15. S.R., ii. 312.]

That no manner of person . . . shall carry or do to be carried any wools or woolfels out of this realm, to other places than to the staple of Calais, without the King's special licence, upon pain of felony. . . . Provided always that the wools, which pass the streights of Marrock[1] shall be in nowise comprised within this ordinance.

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[1] To wage his law = to bring others, the number to be assigned by the court, to swear that they consider he has sworn truly.

[(*b*) Export of sheep to Flanders forbidden. St. 3 Hen. VI, c. 2. *Ibid.*, 227.]

That no manner person . . . hereafter be suffered to ship within the realm any sheep, fleeced or shorn, into the said country of Flanders, or to any other parts beyond the sea except it be to victual the town of Calais and the marches thereof.

[(*c*) Commons petition that the price of wool might be fixed. Their petition was refused, 1454. Rot. Parl., v. 274.]

Prayen the Communes of this present Parlement assembled; that where the wolles growyng withynne this reaume, here before have ben the grete commodite enrychyng and welfare of this land; and how now late the price of the said wolles ys so gretely decayed and amenused[2] in the hondes of the growers, that the Communes of this land be not able nor of power to paye nor to bere no resonable imposicions nor charges to the Kyng. . . . And also the makeyng of cloth withynne all parties of the reaume, wich is the grettest occupacion and lyving of the pore Communes of this land, is so anyentysed[3] and negh destroied, by that that grete habundaunce of Wolles as welle by stalth as by licence is uttred into parties beyond the see, whereas cloth made withynne this land herebifore hath usuelly ben uttred; whereby . . . the pore Commune people of this land have standen, and yit stand, in gret idelnesse for lakke of occupacion of the said cloth makeyng.

[(*d*) From a letter from Margaret to John Paston, 21 October, 1460. "Paston Letters," iii. 238, no. 423.]

Ye have many good prayers of the poer pepyl that God schuld sped yow at thys Parlement, for they leve in hope that . . . wollys schold be purveyd for, that they schuld not go owt of this lond as it hathe be suffryd to do be for, and thane schall the poer pepyll more leve bettyr thane they have do by her ocwpacion ther in.

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[1] Morocco. [2] lessened. [3] reduced.

[(*e*) Illegal export of wool. Nicolas, "Proc.," iii. 313. (Lat.).]

The 4th of November, 7 Hen. VI., Cheny, Babyngton, Juyn and others of the justices present in the King's council in the the Star Chamber, were asked, separately, to give their opinion as to whether a fine should be imposed upon John Roger, who had confessed in the exchequer, that he had shipped divers sacks of wool from the port of Melcombe, which port was not included in the statute, or whether the matter should be referred to a jury and inquisition on behalf of the King. They said, that having regard to the indisposition of a jury to speak the truth on behalf of the King, and to their lack of knowledge, and to the fact that the inquisitors and jurors might easily be bribed by the said John Roger, it seemed to them better to impose a fine upon the same John Roger. The lords concurred in this decision, and ordered the Treasurer to take from the said Roger two hundred marks, or more if he were able, for the King, by way of a fine.

2.

[The corn supply. (*a*) Corn Law of 1445. Similar acts of a temporary character only, had been passed in 1437 and 1442. St. 23 Hen. VI., c. 5. S.R., ii. 331-2.]

It shall be lawful to every person to ship and carry all manner of corn and grain out of this Realm, to any Place that pleaseth him, except only to the enemies of our Sovereign Lord the King, as often and as long as a quarter of wheat doth not exceed the price of vj. s. and viij. d. and a quarter of barley iij. s. in that port where the wheat or barley is so shipped; and that without suing any licence for the same; . . . the statute and ordinance shall be perpetual, and stand in his force for ever.

[(*b*) The London corn-supply. (i) Importation of corn for London. "Letter Book K," fo. 62 b. (Lat.).] *Cf.* Rot. Parl., v. 155, 1449, when the import of corn seems to have been a matter of frequent rather than of exceptional occurrence.

To be noted, that on the 22nd day of April, the seventh year of the reign of King Henry the VIth after the Conquest, it was agreed, allowed and ordained by the Mayor, Aldermen, and community of the city of London in their full and Common Council, that, in view of the grave want from which the city was suffering owing to a famine of corn, certain people should be sent by the Mayor and Aldermen across the seas or anywhere where they knew the supply of corn to be plentiful, to buy corn as best they might and transmit it hither as quickly as possible. And afterwards it was agreed and conceded by the said Mayor, Aldermen and community, that if, which God forbid, any disaster should happen to the corn by misfortune at sea or any other danger or mischance whatever, the loss, damages, or expense involved in such misfortune, danger or mischance to be set out according to the form aforesaid, should stand in the name of the community of the said city and by them be borne, paid and made good, as the Mayor and Aldermen, according to their sane and wise discretion shall know best how to ordain.

[(ii) Provision for buying corn for London outside the city, owing to the high price within the city. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, iv. 55, dated 8 March, 1409.]

Licence in consideration of the great dearness of wheat and other corn in the city of London at present, for William Russell of London, "fysshemonger," and John Assheton of London, "fysshemonger," to buy 500 quarters of wheat in the counties of York and Lincoln and ship them to the said city for its victualling, provided that they find security in the ports or places of shipment that they will not take the wheat elsewhere and bring into Chancery letters testifying to the unloading at London before Midsummer next.

3.

[(*a*) Prohibition of the export of Gold and Silver. St. 2 Hen. vi. c. 6. S.R., ii. 219. See also *ibid.*, 257, 349, for further prohibitions.]

It is ordained and established that no gold or silver shall be carried out of the realm . . . unless it be for payment of wars and the King's soldiers beyond the sea . . . except the ransoms for fines of English prisoners taken and to be taken beyond the sea, and the money that the soldiers shall carry with them for their reasonable costs, and also for horses, oxen, sheep and other things, to be sent and carried to the parties adjoining. . . . And because it is supposed that the money of gold of the realm is carried out of the same by merchants aliens, it is ordained and stablished, that the merchants aliens shall find surety in the Chancery, every company for them of their company, that none of them shall carry out of the realm any gold or silver against the form of the said statute.

[(*b*) A licence to take gold and silver out of the country. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, ii. 257, dated 16 February, 1433.]

Grant by advice of the Council that Henry, Cardinal of England, may cross the sea with a suitable train, taking gold and silver in specie, or bullion to the value of 20,000*l.*

4.

[The "Libel of English Policy," written *c.* 1436, after the attack on Calais by the Burgundians. "Political Poems and Songs," R.S., ii. 160.]

Knowe welle alle men that profites in certayne,
Commodytes called, commynge out of Spayne,
And marchandy, who so wylle wete what that is,
Bene fygues, raysyns, wyne bastarde, and dates;
And lycorys, syvyle oyle, and grayne,
Whyte Castelle sope, and wax, is not in vayne;

Iren, wolle, wadmole,[1] gotefel, kydefel also,
Ffor poynt-makers [2] fulle nedefulle be the ij.;

. . . .

And whenne these seyde marchauntz discharged be
Of marchaundy in Fflaundres neere the see,
Than they be charged agayn wyth marchaundy
That to Fflaundres bougeth full rychelye;
Ffyne clothe of Ipres, that named is better than oure is,
Cloothe of Curtryke, fyne cloothe of alle coloures,
Moche ffustyane and also lynen cloothe.
But ye Fflemmyngis, yf ye be not wrothe,
The grete substaunce of youre cloothe, at the fulle,
Ye wot ye make hit of youre Englissh wolle.

Thanne may hit not synke in mannes brayne,
But that hit most, this marchaundy of Spayne,
But ought and inne by oure costes passe:
He that seyde nay, in wytte was lyche an asse
Thus if thys see werre kepte, I dare well sayne,
Wee shulde have pease with the growndes tweyne
Ffor Spayne and Fflaundres is as yche othere brothere,
And nethere may well lyve wythowght othere.
The may not lyven to mayntene there degrees,
Wythought oure Englysshe commodytees,
Wolle and tynne; for the wolle of Englonde
Susteyneth the comons Fflemmyngis, I understonde.
Thane yf Englonde wolde hys wolle restreyne
Ffrome Fflaundres, thys foloweth in certayne,
Flaundres of nede must wyth us have pease,
Or ellis he is distroyde; wythowght lees.[3]

[*Ibid.*, 163, Commodities of Portugal.]

Here londe hathe oyle, wyne, osey,[4], wex and greyne;
Ffygues, reysyns, hony, and cordeweyne.[5]
Dates and salt, hydes, and suche marchaundy.

. . . .

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[1] Coarse woollen cloth.
[2] Makers of lace for fastenings.
[3] Truly.
[4] Wine.
[5] Leather.

[*Ibid.*, 171.]

Now bere and bacon bene fro Pruse ibroughte
Into Ffloundres, as loved and fere isoughte;
Osmonde,[1] coppre, bow-staffes, stile,[2] and wex,
Peltre-ware,[3] and grey,[4] pych, terre,[5] borde and flex,
And Coleyne threde, fustiane, and canvase,
Carde,[6] bokeram, of old tyme thus it wase.

. . . .

[*Ibid.*, 172.]

The Janueys[7] comyne in sondre wyses
Into this londe, wyth dyverse marchaundyses,
In grete karrekkis arrayde wythouten lake,
Wyth clothes of golde, silke, and pepir blake
They bringe wyth hem, and of wood grete plente,
Wolle, oyle, woadaschen, by wesshelle[8] in the see,
Coton, roche-alum, and gode golde of Jene.

. . . .

The grete galees of Venees and Fflorence
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,
Alle spicerye and of grocers ware,
Wyth swete wynes, alle manere of chaffare,[9]
Apes and japes[10] and marmusettes taylede,
Nifles,[10] trifles, that litelle have availede,
And thynges wyth whiche they fetely[11] blere oure eye,
Wyth thynges not enduryng that we bye.

5.

[Commercial grievances. Collections of a Yorkist partisan, 1447-52. Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 362.]

Hit is needfull for to knowe how the money, golde and silver gooth in to dyuerse Raimys and Contrays. And how for to let hit that it shulde not passe. And how to gete hit agayn. The[1] is the sewrist and the most profetable way to Remedy hit, that is to whete for to set your mony at doubul the valowie that it gooth, and that shall cause al marchandes to bryng as myche money as they may chevesshe.

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[1] Iron. [2] Steel. [3] Raw-hides
[4] Badgers' skins or fur. [5] Tar.
[6] Material for making canopies, curtains or linings.
[7] Genoese. [8] Vessels. [9] Merchandise.
[10] Trifles. [11] Cleverly.

The seconde griff is for that the woll and ffell hath course and passage oute of the Ream, wherfore all Straungers take but litell reward to payne of forfeture of the good. And the persoone to make ffine w^{t} the King. . . .

The thridde articull and full grevous is this that the Lombardes, Esterlinges &c. ben suffred to abide so long within the londe, and to vtter ther good at ther own lust. And ther vnder they enproche the Kynges Customs and engrose the gold and send hit over the See and gete vpon the nobull xvj^{d}, that is iiijs at the pounde, the whiche hath made the Reeme full bare of gold.

The Remedy of this cause is this. Let ordeyn that all Straungers of all Countrays, to what porte euer they dryve and come, that them shall sell ther goodes to Marchaundes of the same porte, and to take clothe and other good &c.

6.

[Charters of guilds to be recorded. St. 15 Hen. VI, c. 6. S.R., ii. 298.]

Whereas the masters, wardens, and people of the guilds, fraternities and other companies incorporate . . . oftentimes by colour of rule and governance and other terms in general words to them granted and confirmed by charters and letters patents of the King's progenitors, make themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances, as well of such things, whereof the cognisance, punishment and correction all only pertaineth to the King, lords of franchises, and other persons . . . the masters, wardens and people of every such guild, fraternity or company incorporate, . . . shall bring and do all their letters patent and charters to be registered of record before the justices of the peace in the counties, or before the chief governors of the cities, boroughs, and towns where such guilds, fraternities, and companies be.

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[1] *Sic.*

7.

[Ordinances and constitutions for the Tanners' craft at Beverley, 20 October, 1416. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Report on the MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, 100.]

Fyrst, that ther be a fraternite and brotherhood of the maisters of the Tanners aforesayde in the honor of the blyssed Trinite and of the Feaste of Corporis Christi and of the blysse(d) and holy confessor Saynt John of Beverley and of all saynts in heven.

And that the forsayd Tanners shall susteyn and uphold for ever on [1] *Searge* [2] of waxe in the chapell of our Lady Saynt Mary in Beverley afore the high alter, in the north side of the qwer there, to be brynned upon Sondayes and other festyvall dayes; and two torches of wax yerly and for ever to be born in procession in the Feast of Corporis Christi, and at the obyt of every brother, and ther to be brynned as well at *Placebo* and *Dirige* as at Masse.

Item, yt ys ordeyned and statuted that the brether of the sayd crafte of Tanners shall have yerly two congregacions called Prymer Gylds, the one of them to be of Tewesday in the Rogacion week to elect Alderman and two Stewards, the other on Sunday after Innocent's Day.

Item, it ys ordeyned and statuted yerely for evermore to be kepte, that the presayd crafte of Tanners shall raise upe on castle of tree upon Monday in the Rogacion weeke, in the honor of gode and the glorious confessor Saynt John; and the sayd brether of Tanners to sytt in the same castell at the hour of prime and the tyme of processyon in clothynge all of one suyt, as nygh as yt maye be hade and goten.

And also the brether shall ryd at afternoyn in the sayme suyt, as other crafts doo, after ther old auncyent and laudable custom. And what brother as ys absent and comys not to sytt in the castell, nor rydds not at afternoyn, as ys aforesayd he shall forfett and paye to the comminaltie of the toune of Beverley xxd, and to the charges and expenses of the sayd occupacycon of Tanners other xxd for ether default.

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[1] One. [2] Candle.

And whosoever refusyth to be clad in the same suyte, and is found able by the Alderman, stewerds and iiij of his brether in suche tyme and space as they doo agree to be cled in, shall forfeit and paye for the said defaulte to the comminaltie xxd, and to the expenses of the sayd crafte other xxd.

8.

[From the ordinances of the Mistery of Hostelers, 12 December, 1446. "Cal. Letter Book K," 316-18.]

First that the Wardeyns of the same Craft have liberte and poware to serche alle maner persones holdyng co'e hostrie havyng wyth hem eny maner gestes or straungiers comyng to the Cite. . . .

Also that no persone of the said Cite take upone him to hold eny comune hostry or to be a comune herberour of eny people repayryng to thys Cyte but that he have a comon' and an opene sygne w^{t}oute and at his place and that he be knowen of good name and good fame by the Wardeynes and other persones of the same craft. . . .

Also that no persone dwellyng in the Cite holdyng comune hostry and opene signe not herborwe nor resceyve eny mane aliene or straunger borne out of thys realme comyng to thys Cite, in ne wyse o lesse than the same persone present and bring a fore the Maire . . . every such aliene or straunger . . . w^{t}inne a day and a night after that he be come.

9.

[On 27 February, 1456, the Wardens and others of the Mistery of the Founders in London petitioned the Mayor that certain articles might be observed and entered of record for the welfare of their craft. "Cal. Letter Book K," 375.]

It is ordeyned that no persone of the seid craft that maketh or dooth to make any furneys to melt in metall or queser[1] or hath to nele[2] in mouldes that it be not occupied ner set awerk unto the tyme that the Wardeins of the same Craft serche and see that it be sufficcient and hable to eschewe peril of fire upon the peyne aboveseide.

Also that no persone of the saide Crafte have nor send ware longing to the same crafte oute of this Citee to no market nor feire unto the tyme that the Wardeins of the craft upon reasonable warnyng to them geven by thowner therof have seen and in due tyme serched if it be true stuf and truely wrought upon the forseide peyne.

10.

[Petition from the girdelers to the Mayor, 10 November, 1435, that the ordinances restricting the number of apprentices allowed to each master of the craft to two, may be observed for the following reason. "Cal. Letter Book K," 200.]

In so muche that nowe adayes ther is so gret abondannce of apprentices of the seid craft that many freemen of the same craft which have but small quantitee of goodes of their owen and were wont to live by the werk that thei made to other men of the same craft may now have no work w^t in the seid craft but some of hem be come waterberers and laborers and some of hem gone home ageyn to her owen contreys and gone to cart and plough and leven this Citee for ever to grete repreef and sclaundre aswele to all this worthy citee as to the craft aforeseid.

11.

[Complaints of the wardens of the Craft of Bakers, of the "servauntis of the Craft," 8 October, 1441. "Cal. Letter Book K," 263.]

They have a brotherhode & clothyng theroffe & meny that ben of that clothyng will not werke of lasse than they have gretter wages than they were woned to have of old tyme the which is grete hyndryng to the Crafte. Also alle that ben of that clothynge will not come to here Maistoureshows fro Satirday after noon till Sonday after noon viii or ix of the clokke but if hit be they that ben hyrid to bere bred but for to do no thyng for here maystirs haue they never so grete nede where as they be hired for the quarter of the yeere for the half yeere or for the hool yeere to do that that longeth to the Craft of Bakers. Also if ther be iii or iiij or mo of that clothyng dwellyng with on bakere if eny of hem trespass and the maister speke to hym theroffe or bidde hym mende hit alle they fortyfieth hym ayenst his Maistir that it may not be amendyd or els sodeynly they partyth out of his service. Also they seyen that they will ordeyne that noon of hem shal werke by nightis time but for to go to werke by daye and leve by day.

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[1] Probably a scoop or ladle wherein to melt small quantities of metal, *ibid.*, 376, n. 1.

[2] Bake, *cf.* anneal.

12.

[Yeoman guilds. This was a revival of a former guild of S. Anne which had been suppressed. P.R.O., Rot. Claus., 3 Hen. VI, m. 6d. (Lat.). *Cf.* Rymer, ix. 117; "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. xv. App. x. 117.]

The King to the Mayor, Guardians of the peace and Bailiffs of our city of Coventry, who now are in office or in the future shall be, greeting. It has been reported to us by several of our liege subjects that a certain number of young men, servants, tailors, and other artificers and labourers, working by the day, and called "journemen" of our said city, often assemble and bind themselves together and hold meetings and gatherings by the chapel of S. George and elsewhere in the said city, and continue from day to day, and have made a certain fraternity or society with rash boldness without the King's licence, and have called and do call the fraternity or society the Society of S. George of Coventry, and that fraternity or society has been made from certain among them with the intention that each of them shall help the other and support the quarrel of another, and they daily endeavour to add to and increase this great number through their youthful wilfulness and arrogance, and choose and appoint master clerks and other officials and servants in the said city for this purpose, in contempt of us and to our prejudice. . . . We command you and your citizens that . . . you cause it to be publicly proclaimed that no one, of whatever estate, degree or condition he be, shall presume to hold any meeting or assembly or give it a name without the authority of the King, by the said chapel or anywhere in our said city or in the suburbs of the same.

13.

[Petition to the Chancellor, 1450-54, to enforce the terms of an indenture of apprenticeship. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 19, no. 492. "Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History," vol. iv., 208.]

Sheweth mekely to your gracious lordship Thomas Bodyn of London, that where accord and covenant was made betweene hym and one Robert Chirche, Citezin and Haberdassher of London, the xv^th^ day of Feverere the yere of the reigne of King Henry the vi^the^ after the conquest the xx^th^ be the medeacion of the frendez, beyng thenne your said suppliant with in age of xiiij yere that he shuld be prentice to the said Robert in and of the crafte of haburdassher fro the Feste of Alhalowen then last passed unto the yend of xij yere thenne next comyng. So alwey that the said Robert shuld fynd to scole at hys owen costes and charge the said Thomas duryng two the furst yeres of the said terme, that is to say a yere and a half therof to lerne grammar and the resydue of the said two yeres, which amounteth to half a yere, to scole for to lerne to write, and . . . the said Thomas . . . hath contynued in the service of the said Robert as is prentice . . . unto the yende of viij yere and more and mony tymes sithon the said Thomas with his frendes hath prayed and required the said Robert to putt and fynd hym to scole . . . the whiche to doo the said Robert wolnot, but that to do at all tymes utterly hath refused, to the grete hurte, harme and losse of the said Thomas.

14.

[Introduction of the art of making stained glass windows from Flanders. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, v. 255, dated 3 April, 1449.]

Licence for life to John Utynam, born in Flanders, . . . to stay in the realm ; . . . and since he has come to make glass of all colours for the windows of Eton College and the college of S. Mary and S. Nicholas, Cambridge, appointment of him to take artificers, workmen and labourers and to set them to work at the King's wages. . . . and because the said art has never been used in England and John intends to instruct divers lieges of the king in many other arts never used in the realm beside the said art of making glass, the King . . . grants that no liege of the King learned in such arts shall use them for a term of twenty years against the will and assent of John, under a penalty of 200*l*.

15.

[The grant of a right to hold a fair was usually accompanied by a grant of the right to hold a court, in which proceedings were conducted according to the law merchant. "Select Cases on the Law Merchant," Selden Society, ii. 114. (Lat.).]

Court of the Fair of the said town (Northwich), held there in the presence of the said Steward (Henry de Ravenscroft) on Tuesday before the Feast of S. James the Apostle in the second year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth (24 July, 1414).

. . . .

Thomas Carrier, catchpoll[1] of the said town, presents that on Sunday the Feast of S. Mary Magdalene in the second year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, on the suit of Robert Wood and others, he arrested Edward Welshman, to answer the said Robert in a plea of debt according to the usage and custom of the fair court of the said town. And for that he (Edward) could not find suretyship to answer according to the custom of the said court, he arrested him and detained him in the moothall of the said court on the bridge of the said town, and locked the door of the said house. Whereupon Henry of Pennington came and opened the said door against the will of the said bailiff and took the said Edward from the said house, and "broke" the said arrest, and violently threatened the said Robert by reason of the said arrest, in contempt of the lord and to the disturbance of the peace.

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[1] A sheriff's officer.

16.

[Prohibition of Sunday trading in the diocese of Winchester. For similar prohibition in London see "Cal. Letter Book K," 293. Letter from the Bishop to John Payn, a canon lawyer, and Thomas Hassele, bachelors-of-laws, 10 December, 1400. Wykeham's Register, ed. T. F. Kirby, Hampshire Record Soc., ii. 520. (Lat.).]

We . . . order and command you, and each of you, that you warn and effectually enjoin those of our subjects and their apprentices, followers and servants who have sinned in this way, . . . that on Sundays and Holy Days they shall attend mass in their parish churches . . . and shall in no wise open or keep open their places of business or shops for the exercise of their craft or for the carrying on of trade or business on these days, but shall abstain from all manner of servile work, from their craft, manufacture, trade, or business, except for the provision of food, under pain of greater excommunication, etc.

17.

[Indenture between the King and the master of the Mint for the making of money. P.R.O., Rot. Claus., 3 Hen. IV, pt. ii. m. 9d. (Fr.).]

This indenture made between our Sovereign the King of England for the one part and Walter Merwe of London for the other part testifies that our said sovereign the King has ordained, made and established the said Walter as master and maker of his monies of gold and silver in the Tower of London and in the town of Calais; and the same William has undertaken before the council of our sovereign the King to make the said monies under the pains, peril and form which follow. That is to say, to make three kinds of gold coin, one of the value of 6s. 8d. sterling, which shall be called the gold noble, of which xlv pieces shall be made to the pound weight at the afore-mentioned Tower, and another coin of gold weighing half the afore-mentioned coin, having a value of xld. sterling; . . . and another third gold coin having a value of xxd. sterling. . . .

And also the said master has undertaken to make iiij kinds of silver coins, that is to say, one having a value of iiijd. sterling which shall be called a grote . . . and another having a value of iid. which shall be called a half-grote . . . and a third coin having a value of id. which shall be called esterling of the coinage of the old esterling, and a fourth coin which shall be called "maille" and which shall be worth half the esterling.

18.

[Usury was condemned by the Church as unlawful. (*a*) A definition of usury by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Somerset Record Society, "Reg. of John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1425-43," ii. 178.]

Usure is where for onything that is in weight, nomber or mesure lent, is more take than was lent, which cryme, if it be open, departeth a man fro the Church, fro the sacramentes and fro Cristien buriall.

[(*b*) The punishment of usury. Cant. and York Soc., vol. xxiii. "Reg. of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, 1422-8," 52. (Lat.).]

A letter of correction.

Thomas, etc. To all, etc. We notify everyone that we have proceeded according to law against a certain Sir John

Rawines, rector of the church of Wolstanstone in our diocese, on account of the crimes of usury, of disobedience, and of other serious matters of which he is accused, and we have summoned him to our presence for judicial proceedings. He appeared personally before us, and confessed that he was guilty of the said crimes, that is to say, of usury, and disobedience, and he underwent canonical correction for the same.

19.

[Attempt to enforce the Statute of Labourers, 25 August, 1452. From the Muniments of the Corporation of the City of Salisbury, Leger A1. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Various Collections, iv. 201.]

The Kyng comaundith that all manere labouring men that holde not londe and tenementes, the whiche suffysith to the occupacion of half a plowe londe, go into service, and that stewardes of frauncheses and constables putte alle suche manere men in service at the request of suche men as wal have ther service . . . and that alle manere artyficers goo to the crafte . . . and that all stewardes of fraunchesse, meyres, constables, bayles and tythingmen of cytes, burghes, hundreds and townes within the shire of Wiltes areste or doo areste alle manere vagraunts, vacabunds and beggers begging oute of the hundred wheras they duelle withoute the Kyng's auctorite or warante according to the statute therof made; . . . and that alle manere labourers and servaunts take suche wages as is ordeyned by the statute; and that alle constables make the due sessions of the pees holdyng iiij tymes by yere . . . yf ony man fynde hym grevyd upon the seid officers because they doo not duly the execucyon of the premisses . . . that he come to the justices of the pees of the seid shire sytting in the sessions and compleyne hym thereof, and they shal doo hym remedy accordyng to the statutes.

20.

[Refusal of services by tenants. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. V, i. 38, dated 12 June, 1413.]

Commission of oyer and terminer pursuant to the ordinance in Parliament of Richard II at Westminster, to Gilbert Talbot of Irchynfeld, Thomas de Berkeley, William Hankeford, Robert Hill, Thomas Fitz Nicoll, William Walwayn and Walter Beauchamp touching and tenants in bondage of the abbot of Cirencester, co. Gloucester, at the said town, who have leagued together to refuse their due customs and services.

21.

[Manumission of a bondman, 4 April, 1419. Cant. and York Soc., vol. xxii. "Reg. of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Hereford, 1417-20," 62. (Lat.).]

To all etc. Edmund, etc. Since in the beginning nature created all men free and of free state, and afterwards the *jus gentium* placed upon some the yoke of servitude, we believe this to be truly an act of piety and justly deserving a reward from God, to restore those whose merits require this to their former freedom. Bearing this in mind, we have manumitted and have freed from every servile yoke by these presents, John del Wode, legitimate son of William del Wode, our bondman, a servant in our kitchen and a bondman belonging to our lordship of Colewalle, with all his offspring now or to be begotten, and with his goods and chattels, so that he and they shall be free in whatever part of the world it shall please him or them to go without any right of reclaim on our part or our successors.

C. SOCIAL LIFE.

1.

[Wardmote Warrant, London, 1437. "Cal. Letter Book K," 215.]

We charge and comaund you that als sone as ye may goodly after the sight of this Warant ye do hold your Wardmote and that ye have afore us at our gen'al courte to be hold in the Gildhalle the Monday after the fest of Thepiphanie next suyng all the defaultres that shall be p'sented afore you be enquest in the said Wardemote & the names of all theym of all your Ward that come note to your said Wardemote yef they be duly warned to that end that we mowe do purvey and ordeigne due redresse and punysshement of theym as the caas requireth. Seth also and ordeigneth that duringe the solempne Fest of Cristemasse next comynge covenable watch be kept and lant'nes light be nyght'tale[1] in the manere accustumed. And that no man go be nyght'tale without light nor viserd on the perile that longeth therto. Purveyeth furthermore be thadvice of the worthiest men of all your Ward . . . of the most sufficiant men of good and wysest discrec'on to be for the said Ward of the Co'e Counseill of this Citee for the yeer next suynge and certeyn other honest persones to be your Counstables & Scavageours & a co'e Bedele. Doth chese eke in the said Wardemote a Rakier to make clene the stretes & lanes of your said Ward. And We wyll and graunte be this present warant that the said Counstables shall have full power & auctorite to distreigne for the salarie and quart'age of the seid Bedele & Rakyer as ofte as it is behynd unpayed. Wryten at London under the seale of thoffice of our Mairalte the xth day of Decembre the yeer of the reigne of Kynge Harry the VIte after the conquest the xvith.

2.

[The keeping of the peace in London. Minutes of the Council, 23 May, 1443. Nicolas, "Proc.," v. 277.]

The xxiij day of May in the Sterred Chambre at Westminster. . . .

Ferriers (squier) is charged upon peine of ml li. to kepe the pees and that neyther by him nother by none of his in body nother in goodes be doon any harme to any of the dwellers opon London Brigge nother of that warde. And that he shal from day to day awaite on the Kinges consant unto the tyme that he be dismissed for such complaintes as divers men of London have maad unto my Lordes of the Kinges consail.

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[1] Nyghtertale: by night.

ij persones of the Kinges hous of the stable that maad a riot in Southwerk were comitted to Flete.

The mair and aldremen were charged to see the keping of the pees w inne the citee of London.

And that there as that there is unthrifty (and straunge and sedicious) langage in divers parties of London not sownyng to the good of the pees but rather to the unreste trouble and mocon of the poeple, that therfor thei wol see therto and sette awayte in every warde who maketh such language, do due punysshement, so that therby non inconvenience ensue.

3.

[An attack upon property in London. Reply to the King's writ of 6 April, 13 Hen. IV (1412), demanding cause of imprisonment. Plea and Memoranda Roll, A. 42, m. 2. (Lat.).]

We, Robert Chichele, Mayor of the city of London, Walter Cotton and John Reynewell, sheriffs, by authority of the King of the same city, certify you, that before the receipt of the writ of the Lord the King, attached to this bill, William, clerk, and John Leek, "tawere,"[1] named in the said writ, were taken in the said city and committed to the prison of the said Lord the King, and there detained because, on the 24th day of January, in the 13th year of the reign of King Henry the IVth after the Conquest, a certain wall of earth, enclosing a certain garden in the parish of All Hallows', Barking, in the ward of Tower Street, in London aforesaid, was broken down about midnight by a band of unknown men, and we have information that the said William wrote a certain bill on paper in English, and that the said John Leek fixed the bill with wax on to the door of the said garden, a copy of which bill follows in these words. Here hath ben this nyght a company of trewe men by comen assent of alle this worshipfull citee to warne you with a litel stroke or more harme come to gader up your erbys and trees or elles it shall be distroied ryght as ye see for we wole have our grounde whos evyr be groucche it for we have yeven a stroke and more is for to come but yf ye with your owne goode wylle amende it your selfe for this is not done of on or two but of many one and mo wel come of al the craftes of alle this worshipfull citee, and therfor thanke god that ye have no more harm at this tyme.

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[1] One who dresses leather.

4.

[Repair of a London street. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. V, ii. 101, dated 14 April, 1417.]

Commission, during pleasure, to Thomas Frank, John Boreford and John Snell to take two boats each of the portage of 20 tuns or less . . . for stone for paving and repairing the King's highway in Holbourne, London, which is so muddy and deep that great perils have happened to men with the King's carriage and others crossing there, and greater are feared.

5.

[From the Town Accounts of Lydd, Kent. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. v., pt. i., App. 517. (Lat., Eng. only given).]

6, 7 Hen. VI (1428, 29). Given to a herbyiour of the Lord Selysbury, that he might prevent the soldiers from coming hither, 8s. 8d.

8, 9 Hen. VI (1430-1 and yearly till shortly before 1446). Paid the minstrels of the Duke of Gloucester, when they came here as a courtesy, 6s. 8d. Paid the ship's cook for his labour, 3s. 4d.

17, 18 Hen. VI (1439-40). Expenses incurred at Dovorre upon an inquisition there about the alyons who were here; the Constable and Common Sergeant being then there, 2s. 4d.

28 Hen. VI (1450). Paid John Benet for a horse, on which John Fermour, the younger, the Constable, rode to Assheforde for to aspye tythynge of the Capitayne of the oste, 4d.

Paid to John Hays, for carrying a letter to the captain in excuse of this town, 3s. 4d.

34-36 Hen. VI (1456-8). Given to a man bringing a letter from the Luetenant of Dovorre to Rye, for shippes to keep the sea . . . for to withstande the navee of Fraunce . . . 4d.

38 Hen. VI-1 Ed. IV (1460-2). (Eng.) Paid in exspences to Thomas Aylewyne and Caxtone and Trendelherst and Barle to London, to speke with the Lordes for the town, the tyme that the Lord of Warrewykes men landyd here, and for to knowe how we shuld spede and be gyded, 28s. 8d.

6.

[Petition of the City of Winchester to the King, 30 Hen. VI. "Archaeologia," i. 91.]

To the Kynge our Soverayne Lord,

Besechess fulle humblie your humble trewe leigemen, the maire, balifs, and comonalitie of your pouere citee of Wynchestre, that, whereas they have ben charged to bere the fee ferme of your said citee, whiche draweth yerlyee to the somme of an cxii marc, and bere also to the maister of the Hospitalle of Marie Maudalene beside Wynchestre lxs. also when the xv peny or taxe is graunted to your highnesse, it draweth to the somme of li l. x s. iv d. withyne the sayd citee, the whiche whenne it is levable, sum oon man in the said citee is sette unto iiii marc and sum v marc, because your said citee is desolate of peple; also expens of Burges of the said citee comyng to your parlements, draweth to iiii s. by the daye, for the whiche said fee ferme so to be paid, your bailiffs have little or nought of certigntee to arayse it of but oonly of casualtees and yerelie lesen in payment of the said fee ferme xl. l. or more; for which causes above said, and also for the grete charges and dayelie costes the which your said pouere citee berethe abowte the enclosyng and meerage of your said citee, it is become right desolate, in so much as many notable parsons ben withdrawen out of the said citee for the causes above said, and lx^{c} iiii^{xx} and xvii houses which were wont to be occupied with peple stondene now voide and bycause of these withe drawynge xvii parryshe churches stond inofficiate att this day.

7.

[Value of land diminished owing to floods. "Chron. Mon. de Melsa." R.S., iii. 283. (Lat.).]

(Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York) certified the Treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, that sufficient inquiry had been made by him, and of what had been found by the inquest taken in his presence at Hedon in Holdernesse, on the tenth day of January, the year of Our Lord, 1400, and the second year of the reign of King Henry the IVth after the Conquest, etc., on the oath of 12 clerks and 12 laymen, sworn and examined upon certain articles contained in the said writ. These say on their oath . . . that after the said new tax and before the last grant of half a tenth, made in the time of King Richard, the lands and possessions had been entirely laid waste and destroyed by the flooding and inundations of the sea, of the Humber, and of other rivers in Holdernesse.

8.

[An outbreak of plague. P.R.O., Rot. Claus., 8 Hen. V, m. 15, dated 15 June. (Lat.).]

The King to his beloved and faithful William Hankeford and his fellow-judges assigned to hold the court in our presence, greeting. Since a fatal plague has suddenly broken out a short time ago whence it is feared that greater and more dangerous inconveniences will shortly follow, we, in order to avoid these dangers, and for other serious and urgent causes which have moved us and our council, with the assent of our council, have ordained that all and every plea now pending before us, shall be postponed from the Octave of S. John the Baptist[1] next coming, until the Octave of S. Michael[2] next coming, and that it shall remain until the same Octave of S. Michael in the state in which it now is, for the reasons above given.

9.

[A severe frost, 1434-5. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 178.]

There was a grete wyntyr and a colde froste, that duryd fro Syn Kateryns[3] day to Synt Valentynys[4] day next sewynge, soo that noo schippe myght passe; wherefore the vyntage come by londe ynne cartys unto London fro the Downys, thoroughe Kent and ovyr Scheters Hylle, for men provesyde be-fore that the vyntage of Gascon and Gyan shulde come ovyr Scheters Hylle, and men made but a mocke ther of.

10.

[Arrangement for city pageants, *c.* 1449. W. H. Hudson, and J. C. Tingey, "Records of the City of Norwich," ii. 230.]

Pageantes—i. Mercers, Drapers, Haburdaisshers—*Creation of the World.* ii. Grocers, Raffeman[5] — *Paradyse.* iii. Glasiers, Steyners, Screuenors, Parchemyners, Carpenterz, Grauours, Caryers, Colermakers, Whelewrites—*Helle Carte.* iiii. Shermen, Fullers, Thikwollenwevers, Couerlightmakers, Masons, Lymebrennerz—*Abell and Cayne.* v. Bakers, Bruers, Inkepers, Cokes, Millers, Vynteners, Coupers.—*Noyse Shipp.* vi. Taillours, Broderers, Reders[6] and Tylers.—*Abraham and Isaak.* vii. Tanners, Coryours,[7] Cordwaners.—*Moises and Aron w^{t} the children off Israel and Pharo w^{t} his knyghtes.*

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[1] 1 July.
[2] 6 Oct.
[3] 25 Nov.
[4] 14 Feb.
[5] Foreign timber merchants.
[6] Thatchers.
[7] Shoemakers.

viii. Smythes—*Conflicte off Dauid and Golias.* ix. Dyers, Calaundrers,[1] Goldsmythes, Goldbeters and Sadelers, Pewtrers, Brasiers—*The birth off Crist w^t sheperdes and iii Kynges of Colen.*[2] x. Barbours, Wexchaundelers, Surgeons, Fisicians, Hardewaremen, Hatters, Cappers, Skynners, Glovers, Pynners, Poynte-makers,[3] Girdelers, Pursers, Bag-makers, Sceppers,[4] Wyer-drawers, Cardmakers.—*The Baptysme of Criste.* xi. Bochers, Fisshemongers, Watermen.—*The Resurrection.* xii. Worstedweuers—*The Holy Gost.*

11.

[Games at Exeter. Complaint of the Bishop that the cloister is used for them. "Letters and Papers of John Shillingford Mayor of Exeter, 1447-50," C.S., 101.]

In especiall in tyme of dyvyne service, ungoodly ruled people most customabely yong people of the saide Comminalte within the saide cloistre have exercised unlawfull games as the toppe, queke,[5] penny prykke,[6] and most atte tenys, by the which the walles of the saide Cloistre have be defowled and the glas wyndowes all to brast.

12.

[Letter from the sons of the Duke of York to their father, 3 June, 1454. MS. Cott. Vesp., F. xiii., Art. 57; "Paston Letters," i. 148.]

Ryght hiegh and myghty prince oure most worschipfull and gretely redoubted lorde and ffader in as lowely wyse as any sonnes can or may we recomaunde vs vnto your good lordeschip, and plaese hit youre hieghnesse to witte that we have receyved youre worschipful lettres yesterday by youre servaunt William Cleton beryng date at Yorke the xxix day of May, by the whiche William and by the relacion of John

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[1] To calender cloth = to press cloth.

[2] Cologne.

[3] Lace-makers.

[4] Basket-makers.

[5] A game played on a chess board.

[6] Possibly a game involving aiming at a penny. See N.E.D.

Milewatier, we conceyve your worschipfull a victorius spede ageinest your enemyse, to ther grete shame. And to vs the most comfortable tydinges that we desired to here. Where of we thanke Almighty God of his yeft, beseching hym hertely to yeve yowe that grace and cotidian ffortune here aftur to knowe your enemyse and to have the victory of them. And yef hit plaese youre hieghnesse to knowe of our welfare at the makyng of this lettre, we were in good helith of bodie thonked be God; beseching your good and graciouse ffaderhode of your daily blessing. And where ye comaunde vs by your said lettres to attende specialy to our lerning in our yong age that shulde cause vs to growe to honor and worschip in our olde age, Please hit your hieghnesse to witte that we have attended our lernyng sith we come heder. And shall hereaftur, by the whiche we trust to God your graciouse lordeschip and good ffaderhode shall be plaesed. Also we beseche your good lordeschip that hit may plaese yowe to sende vs Harry Lovedeyne frome of your kechyn, whose service is to vs ryght agreable; and we will sende yowe John Boyes to wayte on your good lordeschip. Right Hiegh and myghty prince our most worschipfull and gretely redoubted lorde and ffader, we beseche Almyghty God geue yowe as gode lyfe and long as your owne princely hert can best desire. Writen at your castell of Lidelowe the iij day of Jun.

Youre humble sonnes
E. Marche
E. Rutlond.

In dorso.

To the Ryght hiegh and myghty prince oure most worschipfull and gretely redoubted lorde and ffader the Duke of Yorke protectour and defensour of Englonde.

13.

["Paston Letters," iii. 123, No. 362.]

Erands to London of Augnes Paston, the xxviij. day of Jenure, the yer of Kyng Henry the Sext, xxvj (1458).

To prey Grenefeld to send me feythfully word, by wrytyn, who Clement Paston hath do his dever in lernyng. And he hathe nought do well, nor wyll nought amend, prey hym that he wyll trewly belassch hym tyl he wyll amend; and so ded the last maystr, and the best that ever he had, att Caumbrege. And sey Grenefeld that if he wyll take op on hym to brynge hym to good rewyll and lernyng, that I may verily know he doth hys dever, I wyll geve hym x. marcs for hys labor, for I had lever he wer fayr beryed than lost for defaute.

Item, to se who many gownys Clement hathe; and the that be bar, late her be reysyd. He hathe achort grene gowne, and achort musterdevelers[1] gowne, wer never reysyd; and achort blew gowne that was reysed, and mad of a syde[2] growne, whan I was last at London; and asyde russet gowne, furryd with bevyr, was mad this tyme ij. yer; and a syde murry[3] gowne was mad this tyme twelmonth.

Item, to do to make me vj. sponys, of viij. ounce of troy wyght, well facyond and dubbyl gylt.

And sey Elyzabet Paston that she must use hyr selfe to werke redyly, as other jentylwomen done, and sum what to helpe hyr selfe ther with.

Item, to pay the Lady Pole . . . xxvjs. viijd. for hyr bord.

And if Grenefeld have do wel hys dever to Clement or wyll do his dever, geffe hym the nobyll.

Agnes Paston.

14.

[“Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books,” E.E.T.S., 35.]

Gyngerbrede. Take a quart of hony, & sethe it, & skeme it clene; take Safroun, pouder Pepir, & throw ther-on; take gratyd Brede, & make it so stiff chargeaunt that it wol be y-lechyd;[4] then take pouder Canelle,[5] & straw ther-on y-now; then make yt square, lyke as thou wolt leche yt; take when thou lechyst hyt, an caste Box leves a-bouyn, y-stykyd ther-on, on clowys. And zif thou wolt haue it Red, coloure it with Saunderys y-now.

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[1] A kind of mixed grey woollen cloth.

[2] Long.

[3] Mulberry coloured.

[4] Cut in slices.

[5] Cinnamon.

[*Ibid.*, 78.]

Swan rosted. Kutte a swan in the rove of the mouthe toward the brayne enlonge, and let him blede, and kepe the blode for chawdewyn; or else knytte a knot on his nek, and so late his nekke breke; then skald him. Drawe him and rost him even as thou doest gose in all poyntes, and serue him forth with chawd-wyne.

15.

[Duties of a housewife. Pecock, "Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy," R.S., i. 230.]

A good huswijf in an hous now doith oon werk now an othir werk, as thei comen to hond; and now sche brewith, now sche bakith, now sche sethith, now sche rostith, now sche weischith disschis, now sche berith aischis out, now sche strawith rischis in the halle; and though those werkis ben not like gode and like worthi into the seruice of hir husbonde, yit sche oughte do the oon with the other as thei comen forth to be doon in dyuerse whilis, and ellis if sche schulde seie to hir self: "Y wole not do this, perauenture y schal fynde a better werk," sche schulde make a badde husewijfschip.

16.

[A Generall Rule to teche every man to serve a lorde or mayster. "A Fifteenth Century Courtesy Book," E.E.T.S., 11-17.]

The marshall in the mornyng ought to come into the hall and se that it be clene of all maner thyng that may be fond vnhoneste ther in: the stolis trestelles or elles formys yef ony be, that they be set in ther owne places at melis at the bordes, and afore and aftur melis in corners, farthest from encombraunce: and all the hallynges[1] and costers[2] dressed in ther kynde places and shaken or betyn wyth Roddes yef nade be: and that none houndes be abydyng in the halle from morne to evyn. And to performe these thynges seyd afore he shall charge the vsshere and the grome of the hall ther wyth. . . .

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[1] Tapestries, cloth used for wall-hangings.

[2] Wall-hangings.

Also that the marshal seruer[1] or esquyres wayters at mele tymes make honest chere wyth softe speche to straungers syttyng at the lordes borde or in his presence yef they may goodly come to hem, and as they se tyme. And that in the lordes presence suche silence be kepte that ther be no lowde speche save only of the lorde and suche as he speketh to.

17.

[On the corruption of public manners, in the time of Henry VI. "Political Poems and Songs," R.S., ii. 251.]

Ye prowd galonttes hertlesse
With your hyghe cappis witlesse,
And youre schort gownys thriftlesse,
Haue brought this londe in gret hevynesse.

With youre longe peked schone,
Therfor your thrifte is almost don,
And with youre long here into your eyen,
Han brought this lond to gret pyne.

Ye poopeholy prestis fulle of presomcioun
With your wyde furryd hodes voyd of discrecioun
Unto your owyn prechyng of contrary condicioun,
Wheche causithe the people to have lesse devocioun.

D. EDUCATION.

1.

[Song and grammar school at Lincoln. From the injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral by Bishop Gray, 1432. Cant. and York Soc., vol. xvii., "Visitation of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln," 139. (Lat.).]

Likewise that the poor clerks who are called ministers of he church, on every day that is not a feast-day, immediately after they have accomplished their ministry in the church in the same place, zealously attend the schools either of song or of grammar at the due hours, giving up all wanderings abroad, under pain of losing their commons for that day, which are to be applied without any excuse to the uses and advantage of the rest of their fellows, that so, bringing their knowledge of letters to perfection, they may deserve to advance to higher degrees; and that one of them be deputed to have the name of provost of the same, who shall diligently remark the defaults of those who offend in the premises and shall declare them in the next chapter, to the end that the president and chapter of our church aforesaid may proceed to the exaction of the penalty abovesaid, under pain of losing his commons, which shall be applied to the rest of his fellows, for the two days next following, so often as he shall fail so to remark and declare.

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[1] Attendant at meals.

2.

[Foundation of a grammar school and chantry at Newland by Johanna Greyndoore, 21 March, 1446. Cant. and York Soc., vol. xxiii., "Reg. of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, 1422-48," 281. (Lat.).]

A perpetual chantry with a perpetual chaplain learned in the art and science of grammar; the said chaplain . . . shall find a clerk likewise well and sufficiently learned in the said science and art . . . to teach all the scholars of the said town of Newland coming for instruction in the said science; all those who learn the alphabet, matins and the psalter shall pay 4d. at the most, and all those who learn grammar 8d. at the most, at the end of each year. And I will, ordain and determine that the aforesaid John Clyfford (the chaplain) and his successors etc., shall not cease from the direction of the said scholars except from Palm Sunday until the octave of Easter, and from the Vigil of Pentecost until the day after Trinity Sunday, and from S. Peter's Chains[1] until the exaltation of the

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[1] 1 Aug.

Holy Cross,[1] and from S. Thomas the Apostle,[2] until the morrow of the Epiphany,[3] for ever . . . the aforesaid scholars and all others admitted in place of them, who at the time of admission shall be of eighteen years of age . . . shall be of honest conversation, attentive to their studies, and obedient to their master the chaplain in all things lawfully and honestly, and they shall not be put by the chaplain to any menial service, but must be left with leisure for learning and continuous study. If, however, a scholar shall be disobedient to the chaplain and refuse to be lawfully punished by him, unless he resolve to amend his ways he shall be expelled and another put in his place.

3.

[Statutes of Ewelme Almshouse, co. Oxford, founded by the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, between 2 June, 1448, and 2 May, 1450. (The Statutes are not dated.) "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. ix, pt. i., App. 216.]

We, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolke, and Alice my wyfe, Duchesse of Suffolke, . . . have bildyt, erect, and foundid an howse of almesse for two prestes and xiii pore men to dwell and be susteyned in the same all tymes to come in perpetuite. . . .

II. Also we wyll and ordeyne as for the secunde prest that there be provyded a well-disposed man, apte and able to techying of grammer, to whose office it shall longe and perteyne diligently to teche and informe childer in the faculte of grammer. Provyded that all the childer of our chapelle, of the tenauntes of oure lordshyp of Ewelme and of the lordshypes perteyning to the sayde almesse howse now present and alle tymes to com, frely be taught without exaccion of any scholehire. . . .

LXIV. Also wee woll and ordeyne that forseyde techer of grammer soo sadly and discretely rewle hys scolers that none of theyme be tedius, noysum, or troublus to the seyde place or any of the inhabitaunts therin. . . .

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[1] 14 Sept. [2] 21 Dec. [3] 7 Jan.

LXXVIII. Also every pore man to be provided and admitted to the seide almesse house, wee woll that he be meke in spirit, pore in the temporall goodys in such wyse that withoute other releef than of his owen goodis he shall not mow competently lyve, chast in body, and of good conversacion named and trowed, ybroke in age or ellys by other maner of feblenesse to gete his lyvyng.

4.

[Papal indult for the keeping of a grammar school. Cal. of Papal Let., v. 300, dated 1 April, 1400. See also *ibid.*, v. 542.]

To Walter Rede, clerk, of the diocese of Bath, indult to keep a boy's grammar school in any honest place he pleases in the realm of England, to teach grammar therein and to receive from the boys a competent salary according to the custom of the country.

5.

[Preparations for the building of the college of S. Mary of Eton. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, iii. 525, dated 7 February, 1441. See A. F. Leach, "Educational Charters," 404, for the foundation charter.]

Commission, during pleasure, to Thomas Wright to arrest stonemasons, carpenters, plumbers, tilers, smith's plasterers, and all other artificers and workmen necessary for the building of the King's college of S. Mary of Eton by Wyndesore at the King's wages, and to take stone, timber, iron, lead, glass, tiles, laths, shingles, boards, nails, lime and sand, and all other things necessary and carriage for the same.

6.

[Petition for an increase of schools in London, 1447. Rot. Parl., v. 137.]

Please it unto the full wyse and discrete Comunes . . . to considre, the grete nombre of gramer Scoles, that somtyme were in divers parties ow this Realme, beside tho that were in London, and howe fewe ben in thise dayes. . . . And for as muche as to the Citee of London is the commune concours of this lond, wherin is grete multitude of younge peple, ... Wherefore it were expedient, that in London were a sufficeant nombre of Scoles, and good enfourmers in gramer, . . . For where there is grete nombre of Lerners, and fewe Techers, and all the Lerners be compelled to goo to the same fewe Techers, and to noon other, the Maisters wexen riche in money, and the Lerners pouere in connyng, as experience openly sheweth, ayenst all vertue and ordre of well puplik.

7.

[Complaint of the non-payment of a school fee. From the Records of the Borough Court, 28 May, 1433. "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," ii. 139. (Lat.).]

George Mortimer, of Nottingham, by John Ode, his attorney, complains of John Crophill, skinner, of Nottingham, of a plea of debt of 4d. And whereupon he says that he owes and unjustly detains from him the aforesaid 4d., to wit, for the schoolage of a boy of his; which money the same John should have paid to the aforesaid George at the feast of Easter, in the 11th year of the reign of the present King, here at Nottingham; and he has not yet paid it, but refused, and still does refuse to pay him: whereby he says that he is injured, etc., to the value of 4d.; and therefore he brings suit. And the said John, by William Canterbury, his attorney, comes and defends the force, etc.[1]; and he says that he owes him nothing as, etc. Wherefore an inquest, etc.

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[1] Here would follow the formal pleading of the defence.

8.

[Licence for the founding of Magdalen College, Oxford. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, v. 152, dated 6 May, 1446.]

Licence for William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, to found, to the honour of God, the Virgin, and S. Mary Magdalene, a hall of the learning of the sciences of sacred theology and philosophy of a president and fifty graduate scholars or more or less, according to the resources of the hall, in the University of Oxford, and to appoint a fit ecclesiastical person as president and others as scholars, the hall to be called the hall of S. Mary Magdalene, commonly called "Maudeleyne Halle".

9.

[The beginning of the Renaissance in England. Letter from the Duke of Gloucester to Pier Candido Decembrio. "Eng. Hist. Rev.," xix. 515. (Lat.).]

We have received your longed-for letters with the books of Plato, most dear Candido, and their arrival was very welcome and pleasing to us. Indeed, we could have received no greater pleasure, especially since, as you truly say, they reflect honour and glory on us. . . . They are of such a kind as to invite even the unwilling to read them. Such is the dignity and grace of Plato, so skilful is your rendering of him, that we cannot truly say to whom we owe the most, to him for having created a prince of such wisdom, or to you who have laboured in such manly fashion to bring to light what was buried and almost lost by our negligence. . . . We have read and re-read these books: and so pleasant was it . . . that we have determined that they shall never leave our side, whether we be at home or on military service . . . we would exhort and persuade you, and if it were possible we would compel you, that you should apply your whole mind and diligence to the finishing of those works in order that we may actually behold that for which we are so consumed with longing and desire.

Do not think that anything can give us more pleasure than that which concerns learning and the cult of letters. . . . We possess the works of Livy and other eminent writers, and almost all those of Cicero which have been found. If you have anything of value, we beg you to tell us of it.

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BOOK V. IRELAND.

1.

[Letters from the Archbishop of Dublin and others to Henry IV, 20 August, 1401. "Royal and Historical Letters during the reign of Henry IV". R.S., i. 73. (Fr.) From MS. Cott. Tit. B ix. fo. 19.]

We testify anew to the same your Highness, that our said Lord, your son,[1] is so destitute of money that he has not a penny in the world, nor can borrow a single penny, because all his jewels, and his plate, that he can spare of those which he must necessarily keep, are spent and sunk in wages. And, also, his soldiers are departed from him, and the people of his household are on the point of departing. . . . And the country is so weakened and impoverished by the long non-payment, as well in the time of our said Lord, your son, as in the time of the other lieutenants before him, that the same country can no longer bear such charge, as they affirm, and on this account have besought me. And in good faith, most sovereign Lord, it is a wonder that they have borne such a charge so long. Wherefore we entreat you . . . to ordain speedy remedy of these said dangers and inconveniences.

2.

[The banishment of Irishmen from England. The Statute was re-enacted (1 Hen. VI. c. 3), with special reference to the Irish students at the University of Oxford. St. 1 Hen. V, c. 8. S.R., ii. 173.]

For the quietness and peace within the realm of England, and for the increase and enstoring of the land of Ireland, it is ordained and stablished in this present Parliament, that all Irishmen and Irish clerks, beggars called chamberdeacons, be voided out of the realm . . . upon pain to lose their goods and be imprisoned at the King's pleasure; except such as be graduates in the schools, and sergeants and apprentices in the land, and such which be inheritors in England, and religious persons professed; And except also the merchants born in Ireland of good name, and their apprentices now dwelling in England, and them with whom the King will dispense. And that all the Irishmen which have benefices or offices in the land of Ireland, shall dwell upon their offices or benefices, for the defence of the land of Ireland aforesaid.

---

[1] Thomas of Lancaster, Lieutenant of Ireland.

3.

[An exemplification under the Great Seal of Ireland was made 12 January, 6 Hen. V (1419) of the "Modus Tenendi Parliamenta et Consilia in Hibernia". The arrangement of the clauses differs from that in the version for English Parliaments printed in Stubbs' "Select Charters" (Editions 1-8), nor are the two versions verbally identical. The following clause is peculiar to the Irish version. R. Steele, "Tudor and Stuart Proclamations," I. clxxxviii-cxci. (Lat.).]

The King shall sit in the middle of the principal bench, and at his right the archbishop of the place, and if Parliament is being held outside Dublin, the Archbishop of Dublin shall be on the left, and the Archbishops of Cassel and Tuam on either side,[1] and then the bishops, abbots and others according to their rank. The Chancellor shall stand next the King, the Treasurer shall sit amongst the barons, the Justices of both Benches at the King's feet, and all the proctors on the floor.

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[1] The Archbishop of Armagh would presumably then sit on the King's right. *Ibid.*, clxxxix, n. 2.

4.

[Condition of Ireland during the Viceroyalty of Sir John de Grey, 1427-8. Letter from Archbishop Swayne of Armagh. J. T. Gilbert, "Viceroys of Ireland," 573.]

In good faithe the englissch grounde that ys obeyng to the kyngis laue in this lande, as I suppos, is not so moche of quantite as is on schir in Englonde; and al the leutenantz that hath be in this contre for the more parti whan thi come ther edir here soudioris leven on the hosbondis, noght paynge for hors mete ne manmete and the lieutenantz purvioures take up al maner vitalle for hare housholdes, that is to say, corne, hay, bestaylle, and pollyalle,[1] and all odir thingis nedful to houshold, and pay no thing ther fore to a counte, taillys, so firforthe that as it is told me ther is ouyng in this londe by leutenantz and her soudioris within this fewe yeris xx. mille l. and more. Also at parlementz and grete conseilles the lieutenantz hath grete subsidies and talagis grainted to theym, and all this the pouere housbondy berith and paithe fore. The were on thodirsayde distroyth hem and the governances byfore sayde which the were hath broght this countrey to this plite so ferforth that but if ye my lorde of your good and grecious lordshepe ordeyne hasti remedy for the meschefe above saide, by my trouth as y suppos the enmys wyll over ride and fynally conquere this londe or hit be Ester or Whitesontyde, that no man schall kepe hym but if hit be in castellis or in wallis touns.

And the housbonde pepill for the meschefe, and governances aforsaide be gone out of the londe, with in fewe yeris, into englonde, and in to odir contreys, that in good faith, as I suppos, there is mor gone oute of the londe of the kyngis lege pepyll then be in it. . . .

As tochinge the governans of Irlonde sith my lord Grey came in to hit first. Whan he come in to the seyde londe he brogth with hym bot fewe men for he hade no shippyng for all is men; and hit was longe or his men come to hym, and so he was noght of pouer to wer and the kyngys enmys of the south partyes of Irlonde, seyng that he hade so fewe men with hym, all of oon assent they went to were and makmorth[1] was hare capyteyn, and he haide with hyme, as men saide, viij batayleys of fotmen, arrayde of the gyse of this contre that ys ewry man acton,[2] habirchon,[3] pischane,[4] basnete,[5] and in every batayll comunely they have cccc men. And this makmorght[1] with his men come in to the english contre to atoun that is called Connalle and ther they brente the ton and thei brake in to feyr abbaye that ys in the ton and thei brent the ouses of offyse of the same abbay, bot the gret chirche of the same abbay and the cloys, and the stepyll was savyde, as gode wolde; and they brent that same day many othir tounes, in good feithe I can noght tell the names of haisse . . .

---

[1] Poultry.

Than the enmyes of the northsyde of the contre went to were and they brent many tonnys; and slew men and toke prissonerys and did moche harme. . . .

I woll lett yowe knowe what hath be the cause of the gret harme that hath be do to the kingys lege pepill in this londe. . . .

Whan my lord Talbot was in this contre ther was grete warиouns betwene hym and my lorde of Ormonde and yut they be noght acordede, and some jentylmen of the contre ben well wyllede to my lorde of Ormond, they hold with hym and longen hym and helpyn him, and be noght wele willed to my lorde Talbot, nor to none that love hym, and they that love my lorde Talbot done in the same maner to my lorde of Ormonde . . . and so all this lond is severed.

---

[1] MacMuiragh.

[2] acqueton, defensive armour covering body, chest and stomach.

[3] haubergeon, coat of plate or chain mail without sleeves.

[4] gorget.

[5] light helmets.

5.

[Authority of the Irish Parliament. Statute Rolls of Ireland, R.S., 644-7. 38 Hen. VI.]

That whereas the land of Ireland is and at all times has been corporate of itself, by the ancient laws and customs used in the same, freed of the burthen of any special law of the realm of England, save only such laws as by the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of the said land had been in Great Council and Parliament there held, admitted, accepted, affirmed and proclaimed according to sundry ancient statutes thereof made. And whereas also of ancient custom, privilege and franchise of the said land, there is and at all times has been the seal of the King current, by which the laws there and also the King's subjects of the same land are guided and directed, which seal is called the seal of the said land, to which all the said subjects ought to do lawful obedience. . . . It is ordained, enacted and established in the said Parliament and by authority thereof, that henceforth no person or persons, being in the said land of Ireland, be by any command given or made under any other seal than the said seal of the same land compelled to answer to any appeal or any other matter out of the said land.

6.

[From the Libel of English Policy, written c. 1436. "Political Poems and Songs," R.S., ii. 185-190.]

I caste[1] to speke of Irelonde but a lytelle,
Commoditees yit I woll entitelle,
Hydes, and fish, samon, hake, herynge,
Irish wollen, lynyn, cloth faldynge,[2]
And marternus[3] gode, bene here merchaundyse,
Hertys hydes and other of veneryre,
Skynnes of otere, squerel, and Irysh ox,
Of shepe, lambe, and fox is here chaffare,[4]

[1] Planned. [2] Rough cloth. [3] Marten. [4] Merchandise.

Ffelles of kydde and conyes grete plente.
So that yf Irelonde holpe us to kepe the see,
Because the kynge clepid is rex Angliae
And is dominus also Hiberniae,
Old possessyd by progenitours,
The Yriche men have cause lyke to oures
Oure londe and herres to gedre defende,
That none enmye shulde hurte ne offende
Irelonde ne us, but as one comonte
Shulde helpe to kepe welle aboute the see.
Ffor they have havenesse grete and godely bayes,
Sure, wyder, and depe, of gode assayes[1]
Att Waterford and coostis monye one,
And as men seyn in England, be there none
Better havenesse shyppes in to ryde,
Ne more sure for enmyes to abyde.

. . . .

Nowe here be ware and hertly take entente
As ye wolle answere at the laste jugemente,
That for sloughe[2] and for racheshede[3]
Ye remembre, wyth alle youre myghte take hede
To kepe Yrelonde, that it be not loste;
Ffor it is a boterasse and a poste
Undre England, and Wales another.

. . . .

Wyse mene seyne, whyche folyn not ne dotyn,
That wylde Yrishe so muche of grounde have gotyne
There upon us, as lykelynesse may be,
Lyke as England to sherish[4] two or thre
Of thys oure londe is made comparable,
So wylde Yrishe have wonne unto us unable
Yit to defende, and of no powere
That oure grounde there is a lytelle cornere,
To alle Yrelonde in trewe comparisone.
It nedeth no more this mater to expone,

[1] Proved to be good. [2] Sloth. [3] Carelessness. [4] Shires.

Which if it be loste, as Criste Jhesu forbede,
Ffarewell Wales, than Englond cometh to drede
Ffor alliaunce of Scotelónde and of Spayne,
And other moo, as the Pety Bretayne,
And so have enmyes environ rounde aboute.

. . . .

I herde a man speke to me fulle late,
Whyche was a lorde of ful grete astate,
That expensis of one yere don in Fraunce
Werred[1] on men welle wylled of puissaunce,
Thys seyd grounde of Yrelonde to conquere,
And yit because Englonde myght not forbere
These seyde expensis gedred in one yere,
But in iij yere or iiij gadred up here
Myght wynne Yrelonde to a fynalle conquest
In one soole yere, to sett us alle in reste.

---

[1] Expended.

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